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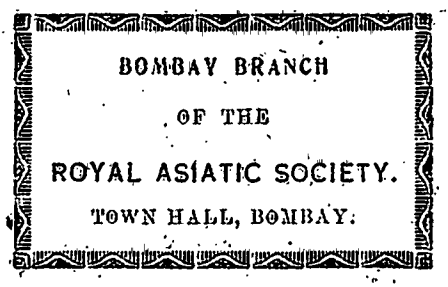

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THE

ROMANCE OF THE PEERAGE.

R. Young, sc.

ANNE, DUCHESS OF
MONMOUTH AND BUCCLEUCH.

THE

ROMANCE OF THE PEERAGE

OR

Curiosities of Family History.

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BY

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IN THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.

VOL. IV.

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PREFACE.

The Four Volumes to which the present work has now extended comprise all the selections intended to be gleaned from so much of the Family History of the Peerage as lies beyond the great social as well as constitutional epoch of the Revolution of 1688. The First of the two Parts into which the subject naturally divides itself—the Ancient and the Modern History—has been gone over; and the work, as it stands, may be regarded as having a certain completeness, even if it should be carried no farther.

In any case, it is to be remembered, it professes to present only a series of sketches. It does not contain every romantic or curious narrative which might be disinterred from the Family History of the Peerage in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Some have been purposely passed over, or touched upon as lightly as possible; others have been necessarily excluded to make room for those that have been given. Those have been preferred, for the most part, that have been the least taken up in the common Histories, or that, on the other hand, were invested with a higher interest by their relation to persons and events of national importance, or that admitted of having most new light thrown upon them.

Among the subjects that have undergone a more critical investigation than they had previously received, resulting in most cases in the discovery of new facts or probabilities, and in a fuller and more exact and consistent narrative, may be mentioned some remarkable passages in the dark career of the royal favourite, Dudley Earl of Leicester,—the mysterious death of his first wife, Amy Robsart,—his *liaison* with Douglas Lady Sheffield,—the fortunes of his and her son, Sir Robert Dudley,—many parts of the long and eventful mortal course of Leicester's last wife,—the death of her first husband, the first Devereux Earl of Essex,—the secret history of her third husband, Sir Christopher Blount,—the loves of her daughter Lady Rich and Sir Philip Sidney (including the explanation of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* and of Spenser's *Astrophel*),—the subsequent connexion of the same lady with Blount Earl of Devonshire,—his early campaigns and her political intrigues,—the luckless second marriage of the third Earl of Essex,—the runaway match of Lady Dorothy Devereux with Sir Thomas Perrot,—the various matrimonial adventures of Charles Brandon,—the stories of Lady Catharine Grey and the Earl of Hertford,—of the Lady Arabella Stuart and Hertford's grandson,—of Lady Kildare and Lord Cobham,—of Patrick Ruthven,—of the Shepherd Lord Clifford,—and much of the lives of Margaret Tudor the Scottish Queen,—of Brandon's widow,—of the famous Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury,—of the equally celebrated Anne Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery,—and of Anne Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch.

Several other subjects, moreover, have been incidentally illustrated; such as the history of the Law of Divorce,—the state of the question of the Succession to the Crown in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James the First,—the Succession to the Dukedoms of Somerset and of Buccleuch,—the Gowrie Conspiracy,—the Ancestry of the Ruthvens, &c.

It is no part of the design of the work to offer complete histories of our ennobled families. The only instance in which anything of this kind has been attempted is in the case of the family of Percy, of the history of which, down to the commencement of the seventeenth century, a sketch has been given in the Second Volume in connexion with the narratives relating to the Ninth Earl and his wife, the Lady Dorothy Devereux. But the number of Peerages of which some account is to be found in the course of the Four Volumes, generally embracing the date and occasion of the creation, with some notice of the connexions of the first Peer, and often the subsequent descent of the honour, is very considerable. They are (without distinguishing here the several Peerages having the same titular appellation, except where the families are unconnected, or the different degrees of the title, all of which, however, are separate creations, and are particularised as such in the body of the work):—

Abingdon, iii. 80; Ailesbury, iii. 329; Airth, iii. 380, 386, 389, 391, 410; Ancaster, iii. 80; Angus, ii. 318; Astley, ii. 257; Atholl, ii. 145; Ayr, iii. 359.—Banbury, i. 347, 353; Bandonbridge, iv. 43; Bath, iv. 337; Beauchamp, ii. 275, 304, 373; iii. 291; Bedford, i. 320; Beke, iii. 49; Berkshire, ii. 15; Beverley, ii. 113; Blantyre,

iii. 308, 314; Blessington, iv. 6; Blount, i. 225, 226; Boyle of Bandon, iv. 45; Boyle of Youghall, iv. 20; Boyle of Marston, iv. 44; Brentford, ii. 157; Broghill, iv. 29; Bruce, iii. 313; Buccleuch, iv. 354, 358, 378, 408, 411, 415; Buckhurst, iii. 318; Buckingham, ii. 201, 258; Burlington, iv. 43, 44; Bute, iii. 360.—Carey, ii. 3; Carlton, iv. 44; Carmarthen, iv. 58; Carteret, iv. 337; Castle-Martyr, iv. 45; Cavendish, iii. 267; Chandos, ii. 201, 258; Chesterfield, iii. 258, 286; Clanmaurice, iv. 251; Clanricarde, i. 328; Cleveland, iv. 391; Clifford, iv. 73, 107, 159; Clifford of Lanesborough, iv. 43; Clifton of Rathmore, ii. 203; Cobham, ii. 162, 163, 168, 174, 200; Cockermouth, iv. 349; Cork, iv. 20; Cumberland, iv. 90, 119.—Dalkeith, iv. 378; Danby, iv. 58; Darnley (Stuart), ii. 351; Darnley (Bligh), ii. 203; Delorain, iv. 415; De Grey, ii. 205, 257; Denbigh, i. 112; De Ros, iv. 45; Devon (Courtenay), ii. 232; Devon, or Devonshire (Blount), i. 268; Devonshire (Cavendish), iii. 276; Doncaster, iv. 374, 415; Dorset (Grey), ii. 204, 257; Dorset (Sackville), iii. 318, 333; Douglas, iv. 415; Dover, ii. 3; Drumlanrig, iv. 415; Drummond, iii. 380; Dudley, iii. 141; Dumfries, iii. 359; Dumfriesshire, iv. 415; Dungarvon, iv. 20; Dunkerron, iv. 279.—Egremont (1449), ii. 78; Egremont (1749), iv. 349; Elgin, iii. 329; Essex, i. 8, 12, 13, 26, 34, 35, 175, 265, 311, 337; Exeter, ii. 232.—Ferrers of Chartley, i. 8; Ferrers of Groby, ii. 204, 257; Fitzmaurice, iv. 252, 280; Folkestone, iv. 55; Forth, ii. 157; Furnival, iii. 156, 262.—Gray, ii. 205; Grey, ii. 204, 205, 206, 219, 257; Gowrie, ii. 119, 123; Guildford, iv. 43; Gwydyr, iii. 81.—Haddington, iii. 335; Harrington, iii. 258, 287; Hartington, iii. 276; Herbert, iii. 301; Hereford, i. 9, 337; Hertford, ii. 258, 275, 300, 373, 385, 391, 394; iii. 291; Holland (Rich), i. 306; Holland (Fox), iv. 198; Holdernesse, iii. 336; Hunsdon, i. 5, ii. 3; Huntingdon, ii. 204.—Ilchester, iv. 197.—Kensington, i. 306, 309; Kent, ii. 204, 257; Kerry, iv. 251, 252; Kinalmeaky, iv. 29, 40; Kincardine, iii. 329; Kinloss, iii. 318; Kinpont, iii. 380; Knollys, i. 342.—Lansdowne, iv. 253; Latimer, iv. 58; Leeds, iv. 58; Leicester (Dudley), i. 65, 112; Leicester (Sidney), i. 322; Lempster, iv. 51; Lennox, ii. 203, 348, 353, 355, 361, iii. 363; Lindsey, iii. 80; Lisle, ii. 204, 232, 234, iii. 156; Lovaine, ii. 113.—Mahon, iii. 286; Mansfield (Cavendish), iii. 277; Mansfield (Murray), ii. 145; Menteith, iii. 371, 389, 391, 410; Methven, ii. 333, 338; Middlesex, iii. 333; Monmouth (Carey), ii. 3; Monmouth (Scott), iv. 374; Montagu (Nevil), ii. 80; Montagu (Browne), ii. 281; Montagu (Montagu), iv. 324, 325; Montgomery, iii. 305, 335, iv. 115; Monthermer, iv. 324, 325; Montjoy, i. 226, 297, 298; Mulgrave, iv. 249;

Murray, ii. 145.—Newcastle, iii. 277, 278; Newport, i. 297; Nith, iv. 415; Normanby, iv. 249; Norris, ii. 13, 15; Northampton, i. 12, ii. 275; Northumberland (Percy), ii. 66, 76, 80, 90, 110, 112, iv. 323, 349; Northumberland (Nevil), ii. 79, 80; Northumberland, (Dudley), ii. 88, 89; Northumberland (Fitzroy), iv. 287, 349.—Ogle, iii. 277; Ormonde, ii. 2; Orrery, iv. 44.—Parr, i. 12; Pembroke (Boleyn), ii. 2; Pembroke (Herbert), iii. 301; Percy, ii. 59, 64, 90, 111, 112, iv. 165, 348; Petersham, iii. 287; Poltimore, iv. 64, 70; Polwarth, iv. 358; Pomfret, iv. 51; Poynings, ii. 79; Prudhoe, ii. 112.—Queensbury, iv. 415.—Radnor, iv. 55; Rich, i. 84, 242; Richmond, ii. 361; Rochfort (Boleyn), ii. 5; Rochfort (Carey), ii. 3; Rochester, i. 313; Russell, i. 320; Ruthven, ii. 117, 157.—Sackville, iii. 333; Sanquhar, iii. 337, 359; Scone, ii. 145; Scott, iv. 353; Seymour, iii. 291; Shannon, iv. 45; Shelburne, iv. 252, 279, 280; Shrewsbury, iii. 156, 245, 262; Somerset (Seymour), ii. 258, 274, 394, iii. 291, 292, iv. 339, 348; Somerset (Carr), i. 114; Stair, iii. 359; St. Albans, i. 328; Stamford, ii. 204; Stanhope, iii. 258, 286; Stormont, ii. 145; Strange of Blackmere, iii. 156, 262; Strathern, iii. 371, 377; Suffolk (Pole), ii. 253; Suffolk (Brandon), ii. 234, 255; Suffolk (Grey), ii. 204, 258, 267.—Talbot, iii. 155, 156, 262; Tankerville, ii. 204; Tarras, iv. 357; Temple, ii. 201; Thanet, iv. 115, 159; Thynn, iv. 336; Tinedale, iv. 374, 415; Tullibardine, ii. 145.—Vesci, iv. 77.—Wallingford, i. 345; Warkworth, ii. 111, iv. 349; Warrington, ii. 205; Warwick (Dudley), i. 43, 64, 128; Warwick (Rich), i. 301, 308; Waterford, iii. 157; Wentworth, iv. 391; Wexford, iii. 157; Weymouth, iv. 336; Whitehaven, iv. 378; Willoughby, iii. 49, 80, 81, 82; Wilton, ii. 219; Wiltshire, ii. 5; Worcester, ii. 66; Wycombe, iv. 253, 281.

Altogether, the number of distinct creations of which mention has been made does not fall much short of three hundred (without including inferior titles bestowed at the same time with the principal title, several of which, however, are enumerated in the above list as being the customary designations of heirs apparent). The work, even as it now stands, thus presents a summary, however compendious, of the history of a large section of the Peerage. At the

same time, let it be repeated, it is not the primary purpose of the book to deal in this kind of information, which, after all, makes a very small as well as subordinate part of it, and is only introduced when it falls into the course of any of the narratives, while all pains have been taken on every occasion to set it before the reader both with as much distinctness and with as much brevity as possible.

The only *Peerage Cases* that have been given are those of the Earldom of Banbury, the Earldom of Menteith, and the Claim of Percy the Trunkmaker to the Earldom of Northumberland. The great Cases of this description have nearly all occurred in the last and the present century; and those of them that are most curious and remarkable for the history either of the claimant (as in the first Annesley Case), or of the claim itself (as in those of the Earldoms of Sutherland and of Huntingdon), remain for the portion of the work that is yet to come.

Old Brompton;
September 1850.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOLUME I.

Page 88, last line :—I am indebted to the extensive and ready learning in all such matters of Mr. J. Payne Collier (ready to his friends as well as to himself), for pointing out to me that the true reading of this line of Sidney's is, "To warm with ill-made fire cold Muscovy." This is the reading of the original separate edition of the *Sonnets* in 1591, and also of the reprints along with the *Arcadia* down at least to the third edition of that work in 1598. In later editions (as, for instance, in the eleventh, 1662), "fire" is corrupted into "fit."

Pages 415, 416, (and *Vol.* III. *pp.* 189, 190, *note*):—Some curious particulars respecting Hercules Fuljambe, or Foljambe, may be found in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, *Vol.* II. (1835), *pp.* 85—87, under the head of a "History of the Family of Foljambe," written in 1701, by Nathaniel Johnstone, M.D.—no doubt the arranger of the *Talbot Papers* and the Biographer of George Earl of Shrewsbury. (See *Vol.* III. *p.* 230, *note.*)

VOLUME II.

Page 370, line 21, &c. :—Mr. William H. Cope, in a communication to the *Notes and Queries* (vol. i., p. 394), has supplied a conclusive confirmation of the conjecture I had hazarded as to the meaning of the word *collapsed*, by referring to a pamphlet published in 1609, entitled "A Letter to Mr. T. H., late Minister, now Fugitive," with a Dedication

to "All Romish Collapsed Ladies of Great Britain," "which" Mr. Cope states, "bears internal evidence of being addressed to those who were converts from the Church of England to Romanism." It may have been this very pamphlet which originated the epithet, or brought it into fashion, in that (slang?) sense: Chamberlain's Letter, in which it is applied to the Lady Arabella, was written in February 1610.

VOLUME III.

Pages ix and x, Note respecting the *Latin Elegiacs on Margaret of Valois*:—A closer examination of these verses, as published in 1550, leaves no doubt that the three sister poetesses were the daughters of the Protector Somerset. In a prefatory Epistle from Nicolas Denisot, who had been their tutor, besides being described as *Semorianae Sorores* and *Principes*, they are distinctly addressed as the daughters of the King's mother's brother (*Regis Consobrinae*). I must still, however, decline to believe that Jane Seymour was at this time only a child of eight or nine years of age on no better evidence than that of the inscription *now* found on her tombstone.

Page x, Note on *the Descendants of Lady Anne Stanley*:—It is quite certain that the writer of the communications in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1825 is mistaken in making the wife of William Brownlow, Esq., to have been Margaret Brydges, daughter of Anne Lady Brydges (originally the Lady Anne Stanley). The wife of Sir William Brownlow of Great Humby (created a Baronet in 1641), who was the father of Sir Richard Brownlow, Bart. (the father of Sir John), was undoubtedly Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Duncombe of Sympson, in the county of Bucks. See Turnor's *Collections for the History of the Town and Soke of Grantham*, pp. 95 and 100. Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, therefore, and the other descendants of the daughters of Sir John Brownlow, have no claims to the representation of Mary Tudor. It ought also to be here noted, that the present representative of Lady Anne's next sister, Frances, is not the Duke of Sutherland (as stated *Vol.* II., *p.* 305), but the Earl of Jersey, whose grandmother, the Lady Anne Egerton, was the elder sister of his Grace's grandmother, the Lady Louisa.

Page xii, line 8 from foot, *for* "Charter House" *read* "Chapter House."

Page 318, line 8 from foot:—Thomas Sackville, the poet and Lord Treasurer, was born, it seems, at the close of the year 1536, and was,

therefore, at the time of his death, only in his seventy-second year. We owe this correction of the common account to Mr. W. Durrant Cooper, who has communicated it in his very acceptable edition of the Comedy of *Ralph Roister Doister* and the Tragedy of *Gorboduc* (printed for the *Shakespeare Society* in 1847), p. lix.

Page 318, line 4 from foot :—A different version of the origin of the quarrel between Bruce and Sackville is given from the traditions of the inhabitants of Culross, under the title of the "Tale of the Silver Heart," in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, Vol. I. No. 14, for 5th May 1832. See also Mr. Drummond's patriotic and magnificent work, the *Histories of Noble British Families*, Part III., pp. 16, 17.

Page 365, line 18 :—It appears that the representation of the Baliols was not in the mother of John Comyn, or her descendants, but in those of an elder sister, Ada, whose representative was the late Duchess of Augoulême, and is now consequently her nephew the Duke of Bordeaux (the Comte de Chambord). See Lord Lindsay's *Lives of the Lindsays*, 3 vols., 8vo., Lon. 1849 ; Vol. I., pp. 30, 32, 54, and Appendix III. Lord Lindsay refers to a recent work, "A Treatise on Heirs Male, by Alexander Sinclair, Esq.," which I have not seen.

VOLUME IV.

Page 90, line 17, *for* "Brandon" *read* "Suffolk."

Page 97, line 18 :—The narrative of Anne Clifford is curiously corroborated here by a passage which Pennant quotes from her mother's Journal in his *Journey from Chester*, p. 314. The Diary of the daughter is also referred to by Pennant at p. 470 of the same work, as usual without any intimation of where the MS. is to be found. He mentions the curious circumstance, that the Countess of Somerset (Frances Howard) was visited after her fall "even by the stern Anne Clifford."

Page 162, last line of text :—By a subsequent Act (the 13 and 14 Vict., c. 30), passed 15th July 1850, the right of appointing the Sheriff of Westmoreland, as of all other counties, has been permanently vested in the Crown.

Page 294, line 21, *for* "Vane" *read* "Vaux."

Pages 286—321. Since the narrative entitled "Percy the Trunk-maker" was printed off, my attention has been directed to an important article by Sir Charles G. Young (now Garter), in the Sixth Volume of the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (published in 1840), on the

"Claim of James Percy the Trunkmaker to the Earldom of Northumberland," &c., which supplies some valuable corrections of and additions to the story as told in the present volume. It appears that the final judgment of the House of Lords, ordering the claimant to be paraded in Westminster Hall with the paper upon his breast (see p. 318), was actually carried into effect; the Journals for the day following record an order that he "be discharged from his present restraint, having suffered the judgment of this House." In this article the Will of Sir Ingram (or Ingelram) Percy, the claimant's pretended ancestor, is printed for the first time; and it also contains a curious account, communicated by Sir William Betham, of the posterity of the Trunkmaker, from which it appears that his son Anthony was Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1699, was knighted by the Lord Lieutenant 6th January 1700, and died in 1704; that Sir Anthony left, besides a daughter, three sons, of whom the eldest, Henry, died in 1725, the second, Robert, in 1750; and that there still exist, or did not many years ago, descendants of Henry through his three daughters, of whom the youngest, Harriet, became the wife of Sir Richard Butler, Baronet.—A paper in the Second Volume of the *Collectanea*, pp. 57—66, on the "Younger Branches of the House of Percy" (drawn up from materials furnished by the late Robert Surtees, Esq., the Rev. Joseph Hunter, and Sir Charles G. Young), should also be referred to as another curious and interesting contribution to the history of the old Earldom of Northumberland.

Pages 337, line 8 from foot, and 338, line 13, for "*Intelligencer*" read "*Intelligence.*"

Page 359, line 3, *dele* "created."

Page 405, line 7 from foot (of text), *for* "in which" *read* "by which."

Pages 415, 416, *note*:—To the account of the tenure and descent of the Dukedom of Buccleuch, which is correct so far as it goes, I am now enabled to add, upon the highest authority, that, besides the Re-grant of the honour to the Duchess in 1687, overlooked by all the Peerage-writers, there was a previous Re-grant made by Charter under the Great Seal on the 16th of January 1666, by which their titles, honours, and dignities of Duke and Duchess, and also of Earl and Countess, of Buccleuch were conferred, not only in conjunct infeudation (as it is expressed) upon both the Duke and Duchess, but upon the longer liver of the two, with remainder to their sons and posterity in the male line, whom failing to the heirs male of the body of the Duchess. This Charter, which likewise contains a *Novodamus*, is enrolled in the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, *Lib.* 61. 172, as that of November 1687 is in *Lib.* 70. 336.

ROMANCE OF THE PEERAGE.

THE GREAT EARL OF CORK, AND THE BOYLES.

It is not till we advance towards the middle of the seventeenth century that the history of our forefathers in these British Islands takes distinctly a daylight colour. Before that epoch much of it shows like something transacted under ground. We only half comprehend the aims and ways of the fantastic figures that move about in the misty atmosphere. Even their speech is often as dubious and unsatisfactory to us in the sense as it is strange in sound and quaint in fashion. Or, rather, it has no proper living sound at all; it seems as if it were all only something written. Speakers and actors all look, not perhaps like beings of another world and another species, but yet as if their humanity had undergone a transformation, and they had passed through death into quite another sort of life than ours. They have become shadows rather than realities; and the whole scene has the air of a vision or a picture, of something which might be imagined rather than of what has actually been.

Thus it is throughout the sixteenth century. With all its activity, no clear voice comes to us from that far-away time. He who loves to "see the stir of the great Babel and not hear the noise," has that enjoyment in straining his eye to follow the busy doings, great and little, of the men and women who then dwelt where we now dwell. It is all like something looked at through a telescope. But when we get fairly into the next century, all this is changed. We are no longer in the region of spectres and silence, but in the midst of people and things that resemble ourselves, and what is actually going on at this day. It is like awakening out of a dream.

The ancient system of things in England, social as well as political, was come to a condition of infirmity and decrepitude at the crisis of the transference of the crown from the Tudors to the Stuarts, which it was impossible that it could long survive. The termination of the life and reign of Elizabeth may more truly be said to have marked than to have made the commencement of a new era and a new state of things. It was at most but the last slight touch, which began the visible ruin of what had long been ready to fall to pieces. Nor was the personal character of the new King more than a circumstance which somewhat facilitated the inevitable process of dissolution. Another than James might have opposed more of active resistance to the various elements of decay which were at work; but probably the only effect would have been to convert the pressure into a collision a little sooner. If James the First had been preceded on the throne by

Charles the First, we might, perhaps, have had the Great Rebellion in 1622 instead of in 1642. A Henry the Great himself could not have averted the catastrophe which all things had long been concurring to bring about. The Crown and the Parliament could not have been made by any management to go on much longer without the one effectually subjugating the other. The political history of nearly the whole of the seventeenth century in England, however, is that of the contest between the two powers. Waged with one weapon or another, now with the sword now with the pen, at one time with the roar of artillery, at another with the more diffusive noise of words (which also carried their lightning), interrupted only now and then by such lulls as the reflux of the wave makes while the tide is advancing, it extends over the entire dynasty of the Stuart Kings, filling all the space between the accession of James the First and the deposition of James the Second. All that period of eighty-five years would have to be gone over in a complete narrative of the transference of the supreme power in the state from the Crown to the Parliament, and the establishment of our existing political constitution.

Of the space of two centuries that divides Richard the Third from William the Third, or the monarchy of the Norman Conquest from that of the Parliamentary Settlement, the first portion, or the age of the Tudors, may be regarded as closing the preceding era, the second, or that of the Stuarts, as commencing the era in which we still are. It is impossible not to feel what a modern air in all things the latter has as compared

with the former. It is almost coincident with the life of Edmund Waller, the poet, who, born in 1605, survived till 1687; and his easy and polished verse, so distinguishable in spirit and form from any previously written, so essentially resembling the generality of the poetry that has since been written, might stand for the representation or symbol of this forward-looking character with which his age was throughout impressed.

But more or less of the same thing is to be seen in the demeanour and fortunes of almost every other notable personage of that time. A distinctly modern cast of features prevails among them. With few exceptions they evidently belong more to the age that followed their own than to that which went before it. It is not only that their own age was eminently one of transition and progress; so, too, was the preceding age; the men of both, riders and not rowers, have equally their faces to the future, their backs to the past. But, although both alike are journeying towards the east, the sun is going down behind those of the earlier era, and is lighting up the faces of the others. In other words, looked back upon from the point in the progress of the world at which we are now arrived, the former seem to appertain to a departed order of things, the latter to make part of that which still subsists.

The founder of the nobility of the Boyles, which was to spread so wide both in the Irish and in the English peerage, began his remarkable career under Elizabeth, and had even got fairly into the road to wealth and distinction before the end of her reign; but he, of all

men, both from the circumstances of his history and the character of his mind, must be classed with his latest rather than with his earliest contemporaries. He owed little or nothing to the past; he was the sole maker of his own greatness; nor did he ever show a disposition to take either his rest or his stand even upon any vantage-ground which his own efforts had gained, as if it had been the end of his ambition or a possession which could not be taken from him; it was only a position from which he might advance to something higher. "Forward" was the word with him to the last; forward, if need were, at any cost and any venture. It was the true spirit of movement and progress that animated him; not at all that of rapacious accumulation. No man had ever less of the narrow-souled timidity of the mere gatherer of wealth; the fine thing about him was that, evidently, at any time of his life, if he had been stripped of all he had in the world, he would not have given a moment to idle lamentation or regret, but would have instantly set to work to re-establish himself with as much activity and energy, and the same cheerfulness and hope, as before. When, in his last days, this necessity actually threatened him, he looked it in the face as firmly as any man ever did. He was one of those strong, bright natures in whom the mind never grows old, and life burns in age with as intense a flame as in youth. It is this unconquerable vitality that chiefly makes him interesting.

We have a narrative from himself of the rise and progress of his fortunes; but, although he is to be

regarded as rather the root or trunk than one of the branches of a genealogical tree, it will be proper first to say a few words about his parentage and connexions.

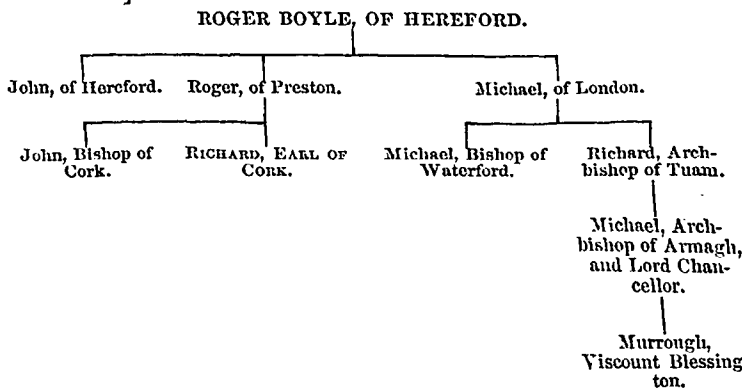
He was not altogether what the Romans would have called a *novus homo*. The family name is believed to have been originally *Binvile;* and Humfrey de Binvile is mentioned in Domesday Book as having been possessed of Pixeley Court, near Leadbury, in Herefordfordshire, in the time of Edward the Confessor. The Boyles, latterly seated at a place called Bidney in that county, can be traced in regular male succession from the reign of Henry the Third. Roger Boyle, a second son of this house, who must have lived in the early part of the sixteenth century, had, besides an elder son, John, who remained in Herefordshire, two others; Roger, who settled at Preston, in Kent; and Michael, who established himself, it is not said in what capacity, in London. A distinguished posterity sprang from each. Roger was the father of Richard, who became Earl of Cork: Michael's eldest son became Bishop of Waterford; his second, Archbishop of Tuam; the son of the latter, Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Chancellor of Ireland; and his son an Irish peer, with the title of Viscount Blessington.

It was thus usually the second son among the Boyles who shot to the greatest height, either in himself or in his descendants: the Archbishop of Tuam was a second son; so was Roger of Preston; so was his father, Roger of Hereford, the common ancestor of all the noble Boyles. The Earl of Cork, too, was a second son; he had an elder brother, named John, who died

Bishop of Cork, in which see he was succeeded by his cousin, who afterwards rose to be Archbishop of Tuam.*

The Earl's autobiographical narrative is entitled his *True Remembrances,* and was drawn up by him in the year 1632.† He was born, he there tells us, in the City of Canterbury, on the 3rd of October 1566. He lost his father before he had completed his tenth year; and his mother, who, he observes, never married again, ten years later. "After the decease of my father and mother," he proceeds, "I, being the second son of a younger brother, having been a scholar in Bennet's College, Cambridge, and a student in the Middle Temple, London, finding my means unable to support

* This statement will be made clearer by the following tabular representation :—



† The greater portion of it is extracted in Eustace Budgell's *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Earl of Orrery,* 1732, or 2nd edit., 1734; but it was, I believe, first published entire by Collins in the third edition of his *Peerage,* 1756. According to a marginal note in the *Biographia Britannica,* the MS. of the *True Remembrances* was formerly in the hands of Mr. Smith, apothecary, in the Strand, London, who lived long with the Honourable Robert Boyle. This was, perhaps, only a copy of the original. Collins refers to his MS. as being in the possession of the Earl of Cork.

me to study the laws in the Inns of Court, put myself into the service of Sir Roger Manwood, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, whom I served as one of his clerks; and, perceiving that the employment would not raise a fortune, I resolved to travel into foreign kingdoms, to gain learning and knowledge and experience abroad in the world." This would hardly prepare us for what followed: it pleased the Almighty, he says, by his divine providence, to take him as it were by the hand, and lead him into Ireland. His meaning probably is, that circumstances unexpectedly arose to divert him from his intention of travelling, and to induce him at once to go to try his fortune in that land of action and enterprise. It does not appear that the Boyles had any connexion with Ireland before this. Our young adventurer had just completed his twenty-second year; he arrived at Dublin on Midsummer-eve, the 23rd of June, 1588. "All my wealth," he says, "was then £27 3*s*. in money, and two tokens which my mother had given me; namely, a diamond ring, which I have [worn] ever since and still do wear, and a bracelet of gold, worth about £10; a taffety doublet, cut with and upon taffety; a pair of black velvet breeches, laced; a new Milan fustian suit, laced, and cut upon taffety; two cloaks; competent linen and necessaries; with my rapier and dagger."

In one state of society or circumstances it is a man's money that is emphatically himself; in another it is his clothes. Now-a-days it is more usual, perhaps, for Irishmen to practise that method in England; formerly,

it would seem, an Englishman would sometimes put the best part of his fortune on his back, and go over and try what he could do among our neighbours. So disproportioned a provision of gay attire would argue that Master Richard Boyle placed considerable reliance on his outward man; and his personal advantages are reported to have been such as to justify him in doing so, besides that so sharp and sagacious a person was not likely to make a mistake on that head. Above all, the result justified him. Budgell, probably speaking upon the family tradition, says that the lady, whom he describes as being of great merit and a fine understanding, fell in love with our hero; Boyle's own account is only that on the 6th of November 1595 he was married at Limerick to Joan, one of the two daughters and co-heirs of William Apsley, Esq., and that she brought him a landed estate of the value of £500 per annum; "which," he subjoins, "I still enjoy, it being the beginning and foundation of my fortune." According to Budgell, the father gave his consent to the marriage not only out of indulgence to his daughter, but as being "himself charmed with the young gentleman's conversation." Boyle's own account would rather seem to imply that the lady had already come into possession of her inheritance when he married her, and consequently that her father was dead.

Boyle, however, after no long time lost his wife; she died in giving birth to her first child, a boy, which was also still-born.*

* According to the *True Remembrances*, both as printed in *Collins's Peerage*, and as quoted in the *Biographia Britannica* (most probably

He had already, with his economical head, begun both to save money and to turn it to good account by investing it in land; his first purchases being made in the province of Connaught. This he intimates drew upon him the envy of Sir Henry Wallop and the other persons who administered the affairs of the province. "They all joined together," he says, "by their lies, complaining against me to Queen Elizabeth, expressing that I came over a young man without any estate or fortune, and that I had made so many purchases that it was not possible to do it without some foreign prince's purse to supply me with money; that I had acquired divers castles and abbeys upon the sea-side fit to receive and entertain Spaniards; that I kept in my abbeys fraternities and convents of friars in their habits, who said mass continually; and that I was suspected of my religion; with divers other malicious suggestions." Most of these statements were no doubt without any kind of foundation; but probably it was true enough that Boyle had bought a considerable quantity of land. Some details of his proceedings might have been interesting. He says not a word of any employment he had yet had since he came over to Ireland. Yet we may rest assured he had not been idle, and that, although the fortune he got with his wife was his greatest windfall, he must have had other resources from which he probably derived much more than a

from Collins), her death took place on the 14th of December 1599. But there is every reason to conclude, as we shall find presently, that she must have been dead at least more than a year before this. The true date should probably be 1596 or 1597. The former year would best accord with the fact that she died of her first child.

mere subsistence. At all events, he himself knew that he had done nothing which could not be completely explained and defended. Having received a secret notice of the means that his enemies were taking to destroy him, he immediately resolved to proceed to England. But just at this time what he calls "the general rebellion in Munster"—the province where his wife's property lay—broke out. He means, apparently, that which burst forth with such sudden fury in October, 1598. This Munster rebellion "brake out," says Fynes Moryson, "like a lightning; for in one month's space almost all the Irish were in rebellious arms, and the English were murdered or stript and banished." "All my lands were wasted," Boyle writes, "as I could say that I had not one penny of certain revenue left me, to the unspeakable danger and hazard of my life." It was the same universal rising of the natives in the south of Ireland which drove Edmund Spenser out of the country, his youngest child perishing in the conflagration of his house of Kilcolman, although he himself escaped with his wife and four elder ones,—only, however, to die in London a few weeks after. It is evident, from the manner in which Boyle expresses himself, that he had no wife for a companion in his flight across the sea. "God preserved me," he says, "[so] as [that] I recovered Dingle, and got shipping there which transported me to Bristol; from whence I travelled to London, and betook myself to my former chamber in the Middle Temple, intending to renew my studies in the law till the rebellion were passed over." His wife, therefore, must have been dead before this.

He goes on to state that he was soon after recommended by Mr. Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex, who was now appointed to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. Upon this, his old enemy, Sir Henry Wallop, the Irish Treasurer, (or rather Vice-Treasurer, otherwise called Treasurer at War), knowing that Boyle was in possession of certain papers of a late assistant of his, which might convict him of having greatly wronged the Queen in his accounts, and fearing that under the countenance of Essex he might bring the matter to light—though Boyle vows to God that until he was provoked he had no thought of it—in the hope utterly to suppress him, renewed his former complaints against him to her Majesty. The consequence was, that, when he was suspecting no harm, he was suddenly attached and committed a close prisoner to the Gatehouse; all his papers were taken possession of and examined; and, although nothing appeared to his prejudice, he was detained in strict confinement, nor was it till two months after Essex had taken his departure for Ireland (which he did in the end of March 1599) that he was at last called upon to meet the charges against him. But then, by much suing, as he says, he prevailed upon her Majesty to grant him the favour of being herself present at the hearing of the case before the Council, when, he tells us, he so fully answered and cleared away everything objected to him, and made so complete and convincing a justification of all his proceedings,—not, it would appear, without availing himself of so fair and tempting an opportunity of retaliating and avenging himself upon his chief accuser—that in the

end Elizabeth pronounced her decision, in her own royal style, as follows:—"By God's death, these are but inventions against this young man, and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and those complaints urged to forestall him therein; but we find him to be a man fit to be employed by ourselves; and we will employ him in our service; and Wallop and his adherents shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him; neither shall Wallop be our Treasurer any longer." Forthwith, it is added, calling for the names of six persons to be presented to her, from among whom she might choose a new Treasurer, she fixed upon Sir George Carey, of Cockington. "And then," says Boyle, "the Queen arose from Council, and gave orders not only for my present enlargement, but also [for] discharging all my charges and fees during my restraint, and gave me her royal hand to kiss; which I did heartily, humbly thanking God for that great deliverance."*

There is here, however, a little inaccuracy. Sir Henry Wallop (who was the ancestor of the Earls of Portsmouth) was already dead: his death had taken place at Dublin on the 14th of April, and it must have been known in England before Boyle was brought up before the Council, if that, as he says, did not happen till two months after Essex had set out for Ireland.

But his great deliverance was not all for which Boyle had to thank God and the Queen. His unjust

* The writer of the article on the Earl of Cork in the *Biographia Britannica*, has been misled by the old manner of reckoning, in inferring that this must have happened "in the spring of the year 1598." It must have been in May or June, 1599.

imprisonment proved his introduction to official employment, and the commencement of his career as a public man. Being, he continues, commanded by her Majesty to attend at Court, it was not many days before he received from his royal mistress the place of Clerk of the Council of Munster, with her special recommendation of him to Sir George Carew, the Lord President of that province, (afterwards Earl of Totness); "whereupon," the narrative proceeds, "I bought of Sir Walter Raleigh his ship called the *Pilgrim*, into which I took a freight of ammunition and victuals, and came in her myself by long seas, and arrived at Carrig Toyl-Kerry, where the Lord President and the army were at the siege of that castle; which, when we had taken, I was there sworn Clerk of the Council of Munster, and presently after made a Justice of Quorum throughout all that province. And this was the second rise that God gave to my fortune." This, however, cannot have been till the spring of the following year 1600; for it was not till the last day of March in that year that the Clerkship of the Munster Council, to which Spenser had been appointed about twelve years before, and which was afterwards held by his friend Ludowic Bryskett, was resigned by the latter.*

A statement now presents itself in the *True Remembrances,* which has occasioned some remark. "As Clerk of the Council," continues Boyle, "I

* "It is easy to imagine," remarks Budgell, "that Mr. Boyle was received extremely well by Sir George Carey, the Lord President, since he was at least the remote cause of his Lordship's being made Treasurer of Ireland." But Sir George Carey, or Carew (the names are the same, and I believe are pronounced in the same way), the President of Munster, was a different person from Sir George Carey, of Cockington, whom Boyle makes to have been appointed to the Treasurership.

attended the Lord President in all his employments, and waited upon him all the whole siege of Kinsale, and was employed by his Lordship to her Majesty with the news of the happy victory; in which employment I made speedy expedition to the Court; for I left my Lord President at Shannon Castle, near Cork, on the Monday morning about two of the clock; and the next day, being Tuesday, I delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal Secretary of State, at his house in the Strand; who after supper held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning; and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the Court, where he presented me to her Majesty in her bed-chamber; who remembered me, calling me by name and giving me her hand to kiss, telling me that she was glad that I was the happy man to bring the first news of that glorious victory. And after her Majesty had interrogated me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that therein I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she again gave me her hand to kiss, and recommended my dispatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour." It seems impossible to suspect any misprint or mistranscription of one day for another here: the narrator expressly states that he arrived in London on the evening of the day following that on which he set sail from Ireland; and the passage is exactly the same in Collins and in Budgell. The latter remarks, that he would have made some difficulty in believing the fact if he had not found it stated by Boyle himself. The expedition was extraordinary for those days, but is

by no means incredible. If we suppose him to have reached London by nine o'clock on Tuesday night, he had forty-three hours for his journey, which, with a fair wind to carry him across the Irish Sea, and some activity afterwards, would suffice for the distance, even with such roads and such posting as were then to be had. The battle of Kinsale was fought on a Thursday, the 24th of December 1601; but there was some after-fighting both on the 25th and the 26th, and it happens to stand recorded that the whole of the 27th (the Sunday) "was, by the Lord Deputy, the Lord President, and the rest of the Council then in the camp, spent in making of dispatches into England."* They would, therefore, just be ready for Boyle to start with on Monday morning.†

He returned to Ireland without loss of time, but was not long after informed by the Lord President, to whom it is evident that he had principally attached himself, that he intended to send him presently back to England to obtain her Majesty's permission that his lordship himself might repair to her royal presence. Carew acquainted Boyle with this resolution as they

* *Stafford's Pacata Hibernia*, 423 (*edit.* of 1810.)

† Moryson, it may be noticed, makes the Lord Deputy, Mountjoy, to have on the 27th dispatched his letters both to the Council and to Cecil by Sir Henry Davers, and says not a word of Boyle; and Mountjoy in his letter to Cecil says, "I was glad to send Sir Henry Davers over with this good news, who, I assure you, hath taken exceeding pains, and lost some of his blood in this last service, and, besides some necessity of his own, hath long desired such an opportunity to come over for a time."—(*Itinerary*, II., 179 and 181.) Boyle must be supposed to have gone over as Carew's messenger. He probably sailed in the same ship with Davers, but, having lost no blood in the battle, he would be able to outstrip his companion in the land part of the journey.

were returning together to look after the complete reduction of the western parts of the province; "at which time," Boyle continues, "he propounded unto me the purchase of all Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, offering me his bare assistance for the compassing thereof; which he really performed: for, upon my departure for England, he wrote by me two effectual letters; one to Sir Robert Cecil, wherein he was pleased to magnify my service and abilities, and concluding with a request that he would make intercession with Sir Walter Raleigh to sell me all his lands in Ireland, that were then altogether waste and desolate. To Sir Walter Raleigh he also wrote, advising him to sell all his lands in Ireland, then untenanted and of no value to him; mentioning withal, that, in his lordship's knowledge, his estate in Ireland never yielded him any benefit, but contrariwise stood him in two hundred pounds yearly for the maintenance and support of his titles. Whereupon there was a meeting between Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and myself, where Sir Robert Cecil mediated and concluded the purchase between us. Accordingly my assurances were perfected; and this was a third addition and rise to my estate." It was a very considerable addition too: the tract of land which Raleigh had obtained from the crown, after the suppression of the Earl of Desmond's rebellion in 1580, extended to 12,000 acres; and Boyle obtained the whole for £1500, paying also, however, a rent to the crown of about £76 per annum. Within a very few years this estate, under its new master, was, we are told, "not only well tenanted, but the best settled, and

absolutely in the most thriving condition, of any in Ireland."*

Nor did Carew's friendship stop here. "Then," the narrative proceeds, "I returned into Ireland with my Lord President's license to repair to Court, where in his way to Dublin (where he proposed to embark) he dealt very nobly and fatherly-like by me, in persuading me it was high time for me to take a wife, in hopes of posterity to inherit my lands; advising me to make choice of Sir Jeoffrey Fenton's daughter, and that if I could affect [or fancy] her, he would treat with her parents to have the match between us. Wherein he prevailed so far, as, the 9th of March 1602 [that is, 1603 according to modern reckoning], I was, in his lordship's presence, contracted to her in her father's house at Dublin." Fenton was a Privy Councillor and Principal Secretary of State in Ireland, and Mistress Catharine was his only daughter. Boyle and she were married on the 25th of July. He had not, he says, demanded either marriage-portion with her or promise of any, no such matter being in his consideration; yet after the marriage Sir Jeoffrey presented him with a thousand pounds in gold. "But," he subjoins, "that gift of his daughter unto me I must ever thankfully acknowledge as the crown of all my blessings; for she was a most religious, virtuous, loving, and obedient wife unto me all the days of her life, and the happy mother of all my hopeful children, whom, with their posterity, I beseech God to bless."

Boyle's own account would almost suffice to refute

* *Cox, Hist. of Ireland.*

the story, though told apparently on good authority, of his having chosen his second wife, and obtained her father's promise to keep her for him, when she was an infant of two years old in her nurse's arms. But it is impossible that this can have happened after he was a widower, as asserted by the Reverend Dr. Anthony Walker in his Funeral Sermon upon Boyle's sister the Countess of Warwick, from whose mouth he says he had the story; for, supposing the first wife to have died at the earliest date that can be assigned, the second, if she had been thus met with and secured within a week after, would have been still only a child in 1603. That Boyle, on the other hand, should have gone and married Miss Apsley, as it has been suggested he might have done, after he had engaged himself in this way to little Miss Fenton and her father, is entirely incredible. So, any way we take it, the story refutes itself.

His second marriage was followed to Boyle by a long course of prosperous and distinguished fortune. But the first of his titular honours probably preceded the ceremony that made him and Catharine Fenton one. On the same day, he tells us, he was knighted, at St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, by Sir George Carey, Lord Deputy of Ireland. This was he whose appointment many years before as successor in the Irish Treasuryship, or Vice-Treasuryship, to Sir Henry Wallop, has been already related: he was now administering the government of Ireland as Lord Deputy in the absence of Lord Mountjoy, who still retained the superior title and authority of Lord Lieutenant.*

* See *Vol.* I. p. 268.

Within three years more, or in March 1606, he was sworn a Privy Councillor for the province of Munster; in February 1613 he was advanced to be a Privy Councillor for Ireland; in September 1616 he was raised to the Irish Peerage as Baron Boyle of Youghall; in October 1620 he was created Viscount of Dungarvan and Earl of Cork; finally, in November 1631 he was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Ireland. Some accounts state that this office was made hereditary in his family; but there is nothing to that effect in his own account. He appears, however, to have held it so long as he lived.*

These successive distinctions bestowed upon him by the Crown may serve to indicate the continued growth of the power and importance of this great nobleman, of which they were the appropriate recognitions. No man ever acquired large possessions and an eminent station in a more unexceptionable way. He has himself observed, in his *True Remembrances*, that the blessing of God, whose heavenly providence had first guided him to his adopted country, in enriching his original poor estate with such a fortune as that he needed not to envy any of his neighbours, had added no care or burthen of his conscience thereunto. He had, in truth, so happy a genius for rising in the world as to be under little or no temptation to resort to indirect or irregular courses. He could scarcely have achieved more by any trickery than he did by plain dealing. He was a man created and designed by nature to rise above other

* Budgell, writing in 1732, says that it was then possessed by the Earl of Burlington and Cork.—*Memoirs*, 21.

men. It was part and parcel of the right economy and regulation of things that he and such as he should bear the greatest sway in the community. It may be safely affirmed that the Great Earl of Cork, as he came to be called, benefited Ireland as much as he did himself and his family by his vast acquisitions. It was mainly out of public improvements that his private fortune grew and flourished. His coming into the possession of a new estate was a blessing to every tenant and labourer on the property, and to all the surrounding district. Raleigh's Munster domain, for instance, was a desolate wilderness till it passed into his hands, producing nothing either to landlord or occupier: in whatever degree he raised it from that condition, the gain must have been to many others, and indeed to the country generally, as well as to himself.

His political life must be passed over here. The only office in the Government that he ever held was that of one of the Lords Justices for three or four years before the Earl of Strafford (then Viscount Wentworth) was sent over as Lord Deputy in 1633; but he had always been reckoned upon by the Crown as perhaps, of all its supporters in Ireland, the most powerful and the most to be relied upon. Wentworth and he, however, soon fell out. The new Lord Lieutenant had brought with him, among other passionate prepossessions, a conviction that the Earl of Cork was too great for a subject, and that it was necessary for the independence and free action of the King's government that he should have his wings clipped. They were, besides, altogether opposite both in temper and principles. The central

idea of the Earl of Cork's political system was the maintenance of Protestant supremacy; and he probably incurred the dislike of Wentworth's friend and adviser Laud as much by his decided anti-catholicism as by anything else. The enmity of the Lord Deputy and the Archbishop found a curious subject to expend itself upon.

In the conclusion of his autobiographical notes, drawn up, it may be remembered, in 1632, the Earl records that his dear wife, the crown of all his happiness, and mother of all his children, had expired at Dublin on the 16th of February 1630, and had been interred in the upper end of the choir of St. Patrick's Church, in the same grave or vault wherein her grandfather Dr. Weston, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and her father Sir Jeoffrey Fenton, were entombed. "In the perpetual memory of which my virtuous and religious deceased wife," he adds, "and of her predecessors and posterity, I have caused a very fair tomb to be erected, with a cave or cellar of hewed stone underneath it. I have purchased from the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Church the inheritance of that upper part of the chancel wherein the cave or cellar underground is made, and whereon the tomb is built, to be a burying-place for me and my posterity and their children."*

This tomb Laud had set his heart upon getting demolished. The feeling of the Archbishop and the Lord Deputy towards the Earl may be seen from what Laud writes so early as in November 1633. He congratulates Wentworth upon having lost no time in

* It should, apparently, be "my children and their posterity."

administering what he calls a vomit to my Lord of Cork, or, in other words, having compelled him to relinquish some of his property to the claims of the Church. "I hope," he writes, "it will do him good, though perchance he thinks not so; for, if the fever hang long about him or the rest, it will certainly shake either them or their estates in pieces."* What his Grace is pleased to call "the fever" is the spiritual indisposition into which he conceives Cork and "a great many church-cormorants" have fallen by having fed so full upon the patrimony of the clergy. Not long after this we find the Earl's tomb engaging the attention of his two powerful enemies. It was pretended that it occupied the place where the altar should stand. Both the Archbishops of Armagh and of Dublin, however, had interposed in behalf of the Earl, and affirmed not only that the tomb was not in the way of the altar, but that, so far from being an inconvenience in any respect, it was a great ornament to the church. Writing to Wentworth in March 1634, Laud states that he has received letters to that effect from those two prelates. He is considerably perplexed in consequence. "I confess," he says, "I am not satisfied with that they say; yet it is hard for me that am absent to cross directly the report of two Archbishops." Then, copies of the letters have also been sent to the Lord Treasurer (the Earl of Portland); and he, the Archbishop intimates, takes the matter very highly, from his relationship to the Earl's wife's grandfather, the Lord Chancellor Weston. Wentworth must, he observes, have daily need

* *Strafford Letters*, I. 156.

of Portland's good-will at the English Court, and it will therefore be better not to irritate him.

All this shows that the affair of the tomb, contrary to what might have been expected, was pushed on, not by the fidgety and small-minded English metropolitan, but by the vehement Lord Deputy. Laud subjoins in a postscript:—"I had almost forgotten to tell you, that all this business about demolishing my Lord of Cork's tomb is charged upon you as if it were done only because he will not marry his son to my Lord Clifford's daughter, and that I do it to join with you; whereas the complaint came against it to me out of Ireland, and was presented by me to the King, before I knew that your Lordship was named for Deputy there."* That may have been; but it is evident, nevertheless, that, however the matter had originated, it was kept alive by Wentworth, if it was not actually revived by him after it had fallen asleep and was becoming forgotten. Some further light is thrown on the subject by a letter which the Archbishop thought it necessary to write a few days after this to the Earl of Cork himself. "My Lord," he says, "the report that the tomb was built in the place where the high altar stood, and the communion table should now stand, did not come lately to me, as your Lordship supposes; for I assure you I heard of it, and complained of it to the King, and desired remedy, before ever my Lord Deputy that now is was so much as named to that place; and therefore, whereas your Lordship writes that you built it three years since, and never heard any mouth opened against it, it seems

* *Strafford Letters*, I. 211.

some mouths which durst not open there did open fully here; for I assure you, upon my credit, the information before mentioned came unto me." His Grace confesses, however, that he cannot now recollect from whom he had the said information or complaint. After much more about the tomb, the letter concludes as follows: — "And, whereas your Lordship writes at the latter end of your letters that you bestow a great part of your estate and time in charitable works, I am heartily glad to hear it; but, withal, your Lordship will, I hope, give me leave to deal freely with you, and then I must tell your Lordship, if you have done as you write, you have suffered strangely for many years together by the tongues of men, who have often and constantly affirmed that you have not been a very good friend to the Church in the point of her maintenance. I hope these reports are not true; but, if they be, I cannot account your works charitable, having no better foundation than the livelihood of the Church taken away to do them. I am sorry I cannot give your Lordship any other answer to your letters than what here I have written, and therefore leave the tomb to be viewed and ordered by my Lord Deputy and the Archbishops there, as they shall find fittest to be done." *

The end was, that Wentworth carried his point. On the 23rd of August his Lordship in a long letter to Laud thus communicates his triumph:—"This letter goes by so safe a hand as will free us both of the trouble of cipher; therefore, in few words, I have issued a commission according to my warrant for

* *Strafford Letters*, I. 253.

viewing the Earl of Cork's tomb: the two Archishops and myself, with four other Bishops, and the two Deans and Chapters, were present; when we met, and made them all so ashamed that the Earl desires he may have leave to pull it down without reporting further into England; so as I am content if the miracle be done, though Mahomet do it, and there is an end of the tomb before it come to be entombed indeed."*

The affair brings the three principal actors in it before us, all in a very characteristic way;—the imperious, resolute, and vindictive Wentworth, Laud with his littleness in every thing, and that compliance with the force of circumstances, or submission to the inevitable, which constituted so much of the Earl of Cork's good sense and philosophy of life, and was so remarkably combined in him with no deficiency either of high principle or of warmth of nature. It was not, however, we may be sure, without grief and bitterness of heart that the Earl witnessed the removal of the sumptuous monument that his pride and affection had erected over the spot where lay the remains of his late wife, and where he had designed that those of his children and their descendants should also rest. A few years passed, and Wentworth, since become Lord Lieutenant and Earl of Strafford, brought at last to bay, stood on the floor of Westminster Hall vainly pleading for his life. One of the articles of his impeachment was to the effect, that, Richard Earl of Cork having sued out process in course of law for recovery of his possessions, of which he had been deprived under colour of an order made by

* *Strafford Letters*, I. 298.

Strafford and the Irish Council without any judgment of law, Strafford had threatened to imprison him unless he would surcease his suit; that soon after, speaking of an order of the Irish Council-Table made in the preceding reign, which concerned a lease claimed by the Earl of Cork in certain rectories or tithes, and alleged by Cork to be of no force, Strafford had said that he would make the said Earl and all Ireland know that, so long as he had the government there, any act of state made by the Council should be as binding on the subjects of that kingdom as an act of parliament; and that he had had the said Earl of Cork questioned in the Castle-Chamber at Dublin, upon pretence of breach of the said Order of Council. In his answer Strafford admitted all this, and defended what he had so done. The Irish Council Board, he said, had always punished disobedience to its orders by fine and imprisonment, and he might therefore have declared that he would not suffer lawyers to dispute or question those orders, and have threatened the Earl of Cork that he would imprison him if he would not obey them. The suit for which the Earl was brought into the Castle-Chamber, he explained, was concerning the revenues of the College of Youghall, amounting to six or seven hundred pounds a year, which that Earl had endeavoured to secure to himself by causing unlawful oaths to be taken, and other undue means; the matter had proceeded to the examination of witnesses, after which the Earl, by humble suit to the King, and by consenting to pay his majesty £15,000, and by acknowledging his misdemeanours, had obtained a pardon, and the bill and

proceedings were taken off the file;—possibly a correct enough recital of what the Earl had been forced to submit to. The Earl of Cork chanced to be at this time in England, and was examined in support of the impeachment; but his evidence was so given as rather to explain and vindicate his own conduct than to bear hard upon the accused.

Strafford was soon struck down, and put out of the way; his confederate Laud was also already laid fast, and ere long was to expiate his errors too, by that penalty which, boldly braved and becomingly met, as it was by him as well as by Strafford, crowns any life with a certain greatness. The last scene in which the Earl of Cork was to appear was also almost come.

With both his great enemies deprived of all power of molesting him, it might seem that the old Earl's position was now more secure than it had been for many years; nor could anything be fairer or more full of promise than the aspect of his private circumstances at this time. Of fifteen children, whom his second wife had brought him, only the elder, a son, and another son were wanting; these two had died in childhood: five other sons and eight daughters still surrounded the hale old man, where he lived in princely magnificence in his castle of Lismore, with the exception only of two or three of the latter, who were already established in houses of their own. Only one of the eight daughters, the youngest, it may be noticed, died unmarried: Alice became the wife of an Earl of Barrymore, Sarah of Sir Thomas More and then of Lord Robert

Digby, Lettice of Lord Goring, Joan of an Earl of Kildare, Catharine of an Earl of Ranelagh, Dorothy of Lord Loftus, Mary of an Earl of Warwick (Charles Rich, the Lord Admiral's second son, the fourth Earl of that family*). Of his five sons, while the eldest was by courtesy Viscount Dungarvan, two others were already ennobled: Lewis had in 1628, when only nine years old, been created an Irish peer, with the title of Viscount Kinalmeaky, and at the same time Roger, who was two years younger, another with that of Baron Broghill. In the patent of the first of these remarkable creations, the honour conferred upon the boy is declared to be intended to testify the royal sense of the great merits and services of the father in the province of Munster, "in building towns, and fortifying them with fair walls and towers, and filling them with English colonies; in building churches, and reducing the people to civil obedience; in establishing religion, and extirpating superstition; in defending the passes of that country with castles, building many bridges for the convenience of the public, and guarding the ports and maritime places of the said province against foreign enemies; in first introducing manufactures and mechanic arts into the province, and afterwards establishing them by guilds and fraternities of artificers, to the plentiful increase of riches and civility, and by planting and continually supporting leaders and other men experienced in arms from England, to the number of at least fifteen hundred, to the perpetual security and defence of those parts; all this having been done at his

* See the Genealogical Table in *Vol.* I. p. 339.

own expense, and by his own care and labour."* "For the sake of his father," says his Majesty in Roger's patent, "we have taken the said Roger as it were out of the cradle, to place him in a rank of honour as a Baron of Ireland." The Viscountcy and Baronage, of course, were to be inherited by the male descendants of the two boys; so that the Earl might regard himself as the probable progenitor of three distinct lines of peers.

But in him, too, was to be shown upon what a mine, which may at any moment explode, all human prosperity stands. He returned to Ireland in the latter part of this year, 1641, after having seen his third son Roger, Lord Broghill, married to the Lady Margaret Howard, a daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, the newly married pair accompanying him.† It so chanced that they landed on the 23rd of October, the very day on which the people of Ulster made their precipitate and premature movement in that universal insurrection of the Catholic natives which is still distinguished from all their other attempts to throw off the English dominion as pre-eminently The Irish Rebellion. The news of the rising in the North, however, had not yet reached Munster; so the Earl and his son and daughter disembarked, and afterwards got to Lismore without obstruction.

Two days after, it is related, the father and son were

* Slightly altered from a translation in the *Biographia Britannica*, stated to be "by a person of great worth and learning at Dublin." I do not know whether the original has been printed.

† It clearly appears from the Earl's letters that he and his son and daughter-in-law all came over together, although this fact is missed by the careless and confused biographer of Lord Broghill.

dining at Castle Lyons with the Earl of Barrymore, who had married the Lady Alice Boyle; possibly Lady Broghill may have also been of the party, though it is not so recorded; we are only told that among the persons assembled to meet them were the Catholic Lord Muskerry and some other Irish gentlemen of that religion. Lord Barrymore himself was a Catholic. They were all seated at dinner when it was suddenly announced that a gentleman had arrived from Dublin with dispatches from the authorities there for Lord Cork. The messenger moreover requested to speak in private with the Earl before he would deliver the dispatches, or so much as sit down. As soon as he got his Lordship by himself, he told him, with a countenance and voice full of consternation and horror, that a general rebellion had been raging in the North for three days, and that all the country from Leinster down nearly to Clonmell, through which he had passed, was now up in arms, so that he had only been able to make his way by unfrequented by-paths. At the Earl's desire, however, he assumed an appearance of composure, and sat down to dinner. After dinner the Earl opened his packet, and communicated the tidings to the others. Muskerry affected to make light of the news, treating the reported insurrection as ridiculous. Nevertheless, they all forthwith prepared to leave, and to return as fast as possible to their several homes, Cork only waiting till he had dispatched a messenger to the Lord President of the province. "After the Earl of Cork was gone," concludes the story, which is told by the Rev. Thomas Morrice, afterwards chaplain to Lord

Broghill, "Lord Muskerry also returned home, still persisting there was no such thing as a rising, either then in being or intended to be. But the next account was, that Lord Muskerry himself was up in rebellion in the western parts with many thousands of Irish."*

The spirited conduct of the old Earl—he was now, it will be remembered, in his seventy-sixth year—is best seen in his own letters, written from the midst of the conflagration.

About midnight, on the 6th of January 1642, "after a heavy and sorrowful Christmas," he writes from Youghall to the Lord Goring (afterwards Earl of Norwich), who held the office of Vice-Chamberlain at the English Court, and whom he styles his brother, in reference to the alliance made between them by the marriage of his daughter to Goring's son. He complains that, although he has written several times before, neither by his son Dungarvan, nor by any other, had he since his return to Ireland heard one word from Goring. He had in his former letters given a true representation of the miserable state to which all Ireland was reduced, and especially that poor province of Munster, which was encompassed with dangers round about, every day bringing intelligence of the killing, burning, and spoiling of the English and Protestant inhabitants, and of the loss (or rather yielding up) of cities and walled towns. The Lords Mountgarret and Upper Ossory had possessed themselves of the city of Kilkenny without a blow having been struck in its defence, and ransacked and stripped all the English Protestants found therein

* *Memoirs of Earl of Orrery*, 7—9.

with a barbarity and inhumanity hardly to be believed. The Countess of Ormond, her lord being at Dublin, was a prisoner in her own castle. The walled towns of Cashel, Feathers, and Clonmel had all yielded themselves up. At Clonmel, distant from him only twelve miles, his lordship goes on to say, there were at least three thousand rebels assembled, threatening to besiege his castle of Lismore; while, weak and infirm as he was, he had been commanded by the Lord President to come down to Youghall to see whether his presence or power could preserve that town from following the example of so many others. "I have brought with me," he says, "for my guard, a hundred foot and sixty horse, which I have here with me, in defence of this poor weak town, where the Irish are three to one of the English; and, if this town should be lost, all the hope and retreat of the English in this province is gone. And, God willing, I will be so good a constable to the king, my master, as I will die in the defence thereof." He has no great hope of being able to defend the place, yet they will bestir themselves like true Englishmen. All who have sucked Irish blood are infected with the general treason; so that they know not whom to trust, or who is sound at the heart. They are also utterly destitute of men, money, and ammunition. He therefore, "even upon the knees of his soul," begs and beseeches Goring that he will supplicate his Majesty and both Houses of the English Parliament, "that this fruitful province of Munster, wherein are more cities and walled towns, and more brave harbours and havens, than all the rest of the kingdom hath, and the English

subjects that are therein," may not be lost for want of timely supplies, and the Crown of England deprived of so choice a flower. "And herein," he continues, "for God's sake, let not the least delay be used; for, if there be, all succours will come too late. The Lord President, for her security, hath sent over his lady; and all the ladies and women of any account have for the most part transported themselves into England. And now my dear, dear daughter comes to her mother in the arrear (?); God knows with what grief of soul I part with her; but I prefer the safety of her person before the comfort I have in her company; for I esteem her to be one of the best of women in the world, and I am confident that God hath heard her prayers, which hath inclined him to preserve us hitherto.* My daughter Broghill is so great with child and full of spirit, as she resolves to bide out the brunt of these wars; and her husband, who is full of hot blood and courage, doth mutiny upon me for walling him up at Lismore. But that he must do, or else I could not come hither. My son Kinalmeaky had been at his own town of Bandonbridge before this time, but, his lady having been stayed here these three weeks by contrary winds, and he joined in commission with the Mayor for the government of this town, [he] hath been very active in making up the broken walls and decays of the same; but so soon as her foot is on ship-board, his foot shall be in the stirrup to go to Bandonbridge, of which town I hope he will give a good account; for he hath a fair rising out in

* Which of his daughters, or daughters-in-law, his Lordship here speaks of, is not clear.

the town and the borders thereof, and I have put up portcullises for the strengthening of the gates, and planted six pieces of ordnance for the better defence thereof; for I thank God I have so planted that town, as there is neither Irishman nor Papist within the walls, and so can no [other] town or corporation in Ireland truly say. My son Dungarvan hath raised a brave troop of English Protestants, and is marching towards the Lord President, to join their forces together . . . . Oh that I had George Goring here with a thousand foot and a hundred horse well-armed, to see what service I could put him upon, that you might hear of our success!" *

On the 12th his lordship writes again to Goring, superscribing his letter, "In all haste, haste, post haste, haste." He incloses a note he had received in the middle of the night from his son Broghill, who had been left in charge of his castle of Lismore. It stated that a force of five thousand men, well-armed, was said to be about to attack the place. "When I have received certain intelligence," Broghill had written, "if I am a third part of their number, I will meet them to-morrow morning, and give them one blow before they besiege us. If their numbers are such that it will be more folly than valour, I will make good this place which I am in. . . . . My Lord, fear nothing for Lismore; for, if it be lost, it shall be with the life of him that begs your lordship's blessing, and styles himself, My Lord, your lordship's most humble, most obliged, and most dutiful son and servant." His son, the Earl informs

* *Morrice's Letters of Lord Orrery*, I. 1—5.

Goring, has only a hundred foot and sixty horse to defend the house. "All the English," he adds, "about us are fled, but such as have drawn themselves into castles, are but few in effect, and they very fearful. All the natives that are Papists (the rest being few or none) are in open action and rebellion, except the Earl of Barrymore, who behaves himself most loyally and valiantly." A great part of the weak and ruinous wall of Youghall had fallen down within the last two nights, and they were not able to repair it. He had but two hundred Englishmen to guard the place, all tenants of his own, whom he was forced to pay every day in ready money, else they would not remain. "God bless us," the letter concludes, "for we are encompassed with an innumerable company of enemies, and have neither men, money, nor munition. We are now at the last gasp; and therefore, if the state of England do not speedily supply us, we are all buried alive."*

On the 25th of August (three days, so it chanced, after the luckless setting up of the royal standard at Nottingham) the Earl addresses himself at great length to the Speaker of the English House of Commons, now arrogating to itself the supremacy in the state, and not unlikely to make its pretensions good,—at all events, for the present plainly in possession of the dominant authority and power. His lordship informs Lenthall (whom, he observes, he has not the happiness to be acquainted with) that St. Leger, the President of Munster, being dead, he had, under commissions from

* *Morrice's Letters of Lord Orrery*, I. 5—7.

the Lords Justices, and with the assistance of the Earl of Barrymore, Viscount Kilmallock, and his own two sons, Dungarvan and Broghill, lately held sessions in the counties of Cork and Waterford, and had by means of grand juries free from all exception obtained indictments for high treason against the Lord Muskerry and other noblemen, gentlemen, popish priests, and persons of various descriptions, to the number of above eleven hundred. If they can all be proceeded against to outlawry, the confiscation of their lands and possessions will produce a yearly revenue exceeding £200,000. By this course of proceeding the insurgents were already much startled and terrified. The height of their revenge was principally bent against himself and his sons, which they all foresaw would be the case before they entered upon this work of works. "Sir," his lordship continues, "I pray give me leave to present unto yourself and that honourable House, that this great and general rebellion broke forth in October last, at the very instant when I landed here out of England; and, though it appeared first at Ulster, yet I (who am threescore and sixteen years of age, and have eaten the most part of my bread in Ireland these four-and-fifty years, and by reason of my several employments and commands in the government of this province and kingdom) could not but apprehend that the infection and contagion was general, and would by degrees quickly creep into this province, as forthwith it did." It is not very easy to reconcile the Reverend Mr. Morrice's story of the dinner at Lord Barrymore's with this. Finding that by the courses the late Earl of Strafford

had taken, the English and Protestant inhabitants of the province had been almost all deprived of their arms, and that the King's powder-magazines also were in a manner empty, he had immediately furnished all his own castles in the two counties of Cork and Waterford with such arms and ammunition as he possessed, and sent £300 sterling into England to purchase more for himself and his tenantry. He had besides put guards, with victuals for nine months, into all the said castles, "which," he says, "I thank God, I have hitherto preserved and made good, not without giving great annoyance out of these castles to the rebels." He had been prevailed upon by the late Lord President, on the presumption that no man had more power and ability to preserve that important place, to leave his own strong and defensible house of Lismore (which was well provided with ordnance and all things fitting for defence) to the guard of his son Broghill, and to retire to Youghall, where he now is; and hitherto that town and harbour had been made good, and had served as a receptacle, not only for all shipping, but also for thousands of distressed Englishmen, who had been dispossessed and stripped by the rebels, and found succour and safety there. To the two hundred men that he had had with him there he had paid weekly 3*s.* 6*d.* each down to the first of March last; then, his own moneys failing, his son Dungarvan had procured from the Parliament an order for their entertainment for four months longer, for which he was most thankful. The garrison at Lismore he had also maintained all along at his own expense, and he still continued to pay the company of a

hundred foot that he had there; "but," he adds, "I humbly thank the Parliament that they have been nobly pleased, the beginning of last month, to bring my son Broghill, with his troop of horse, into his Majesty's pay; which favour he will, I hope, by his service merit." His second son Kinalmeaky he had employed in the command of a town in the West, of his (the Earl's) own erection, called Bandonbridge, the walling and fortifying of which had cost him £14,000, and wherein were at least 7000 souls, all English Protestants, without one Irishman or Papist among them. Here had, from the breaking out of the rebellion, been maintained a hundred horse and four hundred foot, who had not only sustained several violent assaults, but had made many sallies upon the rebels, and given them several great overthrows,—nay, had taken from them several strong castles, some of which they had burned and demolished, but others of which they had garrisoned and converted into powerful bridles upon the enemy. He goes on to state in detail the important services both of his son and of the Earl of Barrymore. "For my own part, Mr. Speaker," says the fine old man in conclusion, "I assure you . . . . that I had a very considerable estate and revenue when this rebellion began. . . . . I have been compelled to sell my plate and silver vessels, to pay the soldiers. I have been a good constable to preserve this town and harbour, and the King's peace in those parts. I have with a free heart and a liberal hand spent all that I have, and am able to do no more. I grieve not at my own losses and wants, though they have been very great;

but to see these renowned and well-disciplined companies (an hundred whereof for the present are more serviceable than three hundred fresh men) to be without clothes afflicts me at the soul."*

In little more than a week after the date of this letter, Lord Kinalmeaky lost his life in the battle of Liscarrol. It was fought on the 3rd of September. On the 7th of October his father writes, still from Youghall, to the Marquis of Ormond, the Commander-in-chief for his Majesty in Ireland. Ormond had just been made a Marquis, and the old Earl congratulates him on his new dignity, before touching on his own calamity, assuring him that the expressions he employs proceed from an honest heart that has ever honoured and loved himself and his noble family; and if ever my posterity," he earnestly adds, "shall fail in their service and respects to you and yours, I will not own but disclaim them as none of mine." There is no unavailing lamentation about his "slain son;" such a loss at such a time was in the natural course of events. Two commissions had been sent by the Marquis, conferring upon the unfortunate Viscount the command of a troop of horse and a company of foot. "Now I," says his father, "being by the iniquity of these times deprived of my rent and revenue, am much impoverished by the maintenance that I afforded him, and find no comfort by those your lordship's commissions, which were not brought hither until after my son Kinalmeaky was killed at the battle of Liscarrol, where I had four of my sons in that service; and the youngest of them, if report speak truth,

* *Morrice's Letters of Lord Orrery*, I. 8—16.

carried himself with an undaunted resolution, and did narrowly endanger his life in recovering his dead brother's body and horse, both which he brought from the rebels, and hath ever since kept both troop and foot company together, in hope (his brother being thus killed in this service) that he shall be graced with the command of them." His humble suit is, that the Marquis will be pleased, seeing God hath so appointed it that the town of Bandonbridge is by Kinalmeaky's death descended to his brother Dungarvan, to confer the company of foot upon him, and the troop of horse upon his younger brother Francis.

"It pleased God," his lordship adds, "on Michaelmas day last to call to his mercy my noble son-in-law, the Earl of Barrymore, who was your great servant. He hath left a distressed wife and four children, with an encumbered and disjointed estate, all his country and livelihood being little better than wasted." For Barrymore's eldest son, not yet full fourteen years of age, but very forward for his years, he requests the troop of horse which his father had commanded, and which he had raised, mounted, and armed at his own charge; undertaking that the actual command shall be put into the hands of such efficient officers as shall keep them in strength and good order, and perform all duties that can be expected from them.*

The old Earl never again saw his castle of Lismore, or left Youghall. He died in that town, it is said on the very day on which the famous truce with the rebels, or cessation, as it was called, which brought so

* *Morrice's Letters of Lord Orrery*, I. 16—18.

much odium upon the King, was signed by Ormond, that is to say, on the 15th of September 1643. His body lies in the parish church of Youghall, under a handsome monument which he had erected for himself some years before.

It is said that when Cromwell saw the numerous public works which owed their existence to this nobleman, the churches, almshouses, free schools, bridges, castles, and towns that he had built, he declared that, if there had but been an Earl of Cork in each of the four provinces of Ireland, there would have been no rebellion.

At the same time the magnificence of his style of living was outshone by none of his contemporaries, and the estate he acquired was believed to be the greatest enjoyed by any English subject in that age. It was not by a careful frugality, but rather by a cheerful activity, that he appears to have accumulated his wealth; gathering and spending in the same spirit of hope and thankfulness, according to the motto which he had engraved on what he designed to be his family monument in St. Patrick's Cathedral:—

GOD'S PROVIDENCE IS OUR INHERITANCE.

If it be but a fond imagination, or a figure of speech, that a man actually lives in his descendants, it is yet a plain matter of fact that their existence is a projection from his. It is something upon which he has impressed more or less of himself, or of evidence of what he was. This is in an especial sense true of the founder of a family. His descendants throughout a long succession

of generations, and in numerous branches, often owe to their ancestor their worldly position, as well as some of their physical and mental characteristics. Such has been eminently the case with the descendants of the first Earl of Cork. One of the most notable points in his story is the extent to which the honours of the peerage, which he was the first to acquire for his name, have been diffused and multiplied among his posterity. Several of the later Boyles, too, have been rather remarkable persons in themselves.

Their great progenitor, it may be remembered, had the title of *Baron Boyle* conferred upon him in 1616, and those of *Viscount Dungarvan* and *Earl of Cork* in 1620. The titles of *Baron of Bandonbridge*, and *Viscount Boyle of Kinalmeaky*, by which his second son Lewis was ennobled in 1628, were also conferred with remainder to his father, and fell to him accordingly on the death of his son without issue, in 1642. All these were Irish titles. Viscount Kinalmeaky, as he was commonly called, had, however, left a widow—a daughter of the first Earl of Denbigh,—and she was in 1660 created an English peeress for life, with the title of *Countess of Guildford.*

The first Earl's eldest son and successor, Richard second Earl of Cork, having married Elizabeth Baroness Clifford, was in 1644 created *Baron Clifford of Lanesborough*, and in 1664 *Earl of Burlington*, both in the English peerage. He died in 1698 at the age of eighty-five, having outlived his eldest son; so that he was succeeded as second Earl of Burlington by his grandson Charles. This Earl Charles's younger brother

Henry was also in 1714 created *Baron Carlton;* it was he who built Carlton House, in Pall Mall, which at his death, without issue, in 1725, he left to Frederick Prince of Wales. Earl Charles's son, Richard third Earl of Burlington, was the friend of Pope, and the architect of Burlington House in Piccadilly, and of Chiswick. On his death, without issue male, in 1753, his English Earldom and Barony of Clifford of Lanesborough expired; but his great-grandmother's *Barony of Clifford,* which had been created *by writ* in 1628, descended to his daughter, the wife of the fourth Duke of Devonshire, and in her representative, the present Duke, it now is; the *Earldom of Burlington* having also been re-conferred in 1831 upon her second son, the grandfather of the present Earl.

The first Earl of Cork's third son, Roger, who had been created *Baron Broghill* in 1628, was advanced to the title of *Earl of Orrery,* also in the Irish peerage, in 1660. He was succeeded by his eldest son Roger; he by his eldest son Lionel; he by his younger brother Charles. This fourth Earl of Orrery was he who, when only the Honourable Charles Boyle, edited *The Epistles of Phalaris,* and got involved thereby in the famous controversy with Bentley. It was he also who gave his name to the Orrery. He was in 1711 made an English peer, with the title of *Baron Boyle of Marston.* His son, John fifth Earl of Orrery, became also fifth Earl of Cork in 1753, on the death of his relation the third Earl of Burlington, and the failure of the male line of their common ancestor's eldest son. This fifth Earl of Cork and Orrery was the friend of Swift, and the

author of the "Remarks" on his Life and Writings. The present Earl is his grandson.

The first Earl of Orrery was also by his second son the grandfather of Henry Boyle, who was made an Irish peer in 1756, with the titles of *Baron Castle Martyr, Viscount Boyle of Bandon,* and *Earl of Shannon.* His son, Richard second Earl of Shannon, was created *Baron Carlton,* in the peerage of England, in 1786, and was the father of the present Earl. A younger son of the first Earl of Shannon, moreover, was the father of Charlotte Boyle Walsingham, in whose favour the abeyance of the ancient *Barony of De Ros* was terminated in 1806, and who was the mother of the present Baron.

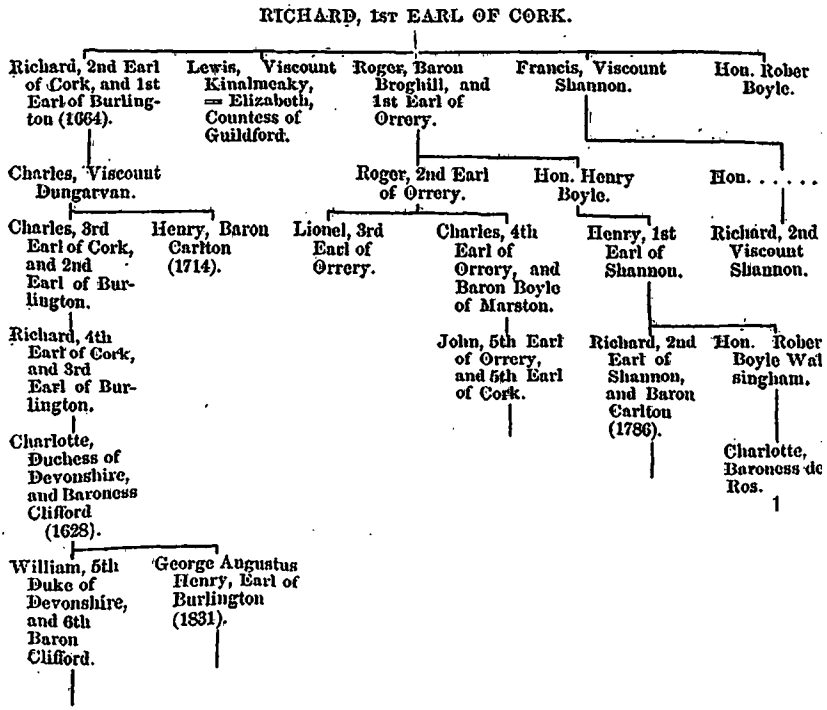
Lastly, Francis, the fourth son of the first Earl of Cork, was in 1660 created *Viscount Shannon,* in the Irish peerage; a dignity, however, which expired with his grandson, Richard the second Viscount, who died a Field-Marshal in 1740.

It thus appears, that, of the five sons of the great Earl who grew up, four attained the peerage. There is no other such remarkable instance in modern times, except only one of our own day, also that of an Anglo-Irish family, by which, however, this of the Boyles is in all respects far exceeded; for the four ennobled sons of the first Earl of Mornington all owed their nobility to themselves, and achieved it by actual services, and all attained English peerages, one being a Marquisate and another a Dukedom, the latter being besides associated with the highest honours of nearly every kingdom in Europe. Another memorable circumstance is, that their

mother, although their father did not, lived to witness the elevation of all the Wellesleys.

The four eldest sons of the Earl of Cork are said to have been popularly distinguished, as Richard the Rich, Lewis the Valiant, Roger the Wise, and Francis the Just. The fifth, his father's favourite, was the celebrated Robert Boyle the Philosopher, whose undecorated name, it is usual to observe, was superior to any title. He left no descendants.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.


RICHARD, 1ST EARL OF CORK.
Richard, 2nd Earl of Cork, and 1st Earl of Burlington (1664).
Lewis, Viscount Kinalmeaky, = Elizabeth, Countess of Guildford.
Roger, Baron Broghill, and 1st Earl of Orrery.
Francis, Viscount Shannon.
Hon. Rober Boyle.
Charles, Viscount Dungarvan.
Roger, 2nd Earl of Orrery.
Hon. Henry Boyle.
Hon. . . . . .
Charles, 3rd Earl of Cork, and 2nd Earl of Burlington.
Henry, Baron Carlton (1714).
Lionel, 3rd Earl of Orrery.
Charles, 4th Earl of Orrery, and Baron Boyle of Marston.
Henry, 1st Earl of Shannon.
Richard, 2nd Viscount Shannon.
Richard, 4th Earl of Cork, and 3rd Earl of Burlington.
John, 5th Earl of Orrery, and 5th Earl of Cork.
Richard, 2nd Earl of Shannon, and Baron Carlton (1786).
Hon. Rober Boyle Walsingham.
Charlotte, Duchess of Devonshire, and Baroness Clifford (1628).
Charlotte, Baroness de Ros.
William, 5th Duke of Devonshire, and 6th Baron Clifford.
George Augustus Henry, Earl of Burlington (1831).

THE FOUNDER OF THE FERMOR FAMILY.

To the history of the rise and spread of the Boyles may be appended two or three briefer accounts of the emergence of other existing noble families from an obscure or depressed condition within a comparatively recent period.

The Fermors are said to be of Welsh extraction, and to have borne the name of Richards till one of them in the early part of the fifteenth century married the heiress of the Fermors, or Farmers. He was the father of Richard Fermor, who was bred to commerce, and whom some authorities style a merchant of the staple of Calais, others a grocer of London, being only two ways of expressing the same thing. He acquired great wealth by trade, which he invested in extensive purchases of land principally in the counties of Northampton, Hereford, Worcester, and Bedford. His principal residence was at Eston-Neston in Northamptonshire, now called Easton Hall, and still the seat of his descendants; and here he is recorded to have lived for many years in great splendour. But, adhering steadily to the old religion throughout the changes of the latter years of Henry the Eighth, he became, with his Romanism and his wealth together, a tempting object of attack for the Vicar-General Cromwell and his

myrmidons, and they at last found means to ruin him. In July 1540 he was committed to the Marshalsea on the charge of having relieved certain prisoners who had refused to acknowledge the King's supremacy. All that was proved against him is said to have been that he had sent a couple of shirts and the sum of eightpence to one Nicholas Thayne, who was then confined in the gaol of Buckingham, and who had formerly been his confessor; but for this the rich London grocer, being soon after arraigned in Westminster Hall, was found guilty of a præmunire and attainted, the effect of which was that he was deprived of every thing he had possessed in the world, and that, as Stowe notes, his wife and children, as well as himself, were thrust out of house and hold.

We are not told where his family found refuge; but Fermor himself, who was already advanced in years, took up his abode in the humble parsonage of Wapenham or Warpenham, a small village near Towcester; the advowson had been in his own gift, and the parson had been presented by himself. Here he remained throughout the rest of the reign of Henry, and also for some years after his successor came to the throne.

But an individual who must be supposed to have been a very different sort of character from the parson of Wapenham retained also a grateful remembrance of kindness that he had received from Fermor in the days of his prosperity. Among other members of his numerous household had been a Jester, familiarly called a Fool, whose wit and drollery had drawn many a smile from his hospitable and free-hearted master, and pro-

bably been now and then rewarded by something more than applause. The Fool was a supreme artist in his line, and from the service of the opulent London merchant and Northamptonshire squire he had in course of time won his way to that of King Henry himself, where, though his merry quips might be often the dread of the courtiers, they were not the less likely for that to be the delight of his Majesty, on whom we may presume it was very lightly that they ever glanced, and to whose good opinion and liking the professional humourist no doubt knew well how to take advantage of his opportunities of recommending himself by other evidences of his superior intelligence than the cleverness and readiness of his repartees. In short, he was no other than the famous Will Somers, who in some degree united the characters of royal fool and favourite. Somers, we are told, having admission to the King at all times and places, and especially in his Majesty's last days, when he was often low in spirits as well as oppressed by bodily sickness and pain, took the right moment for letting fall some words in regard to the hard fate of his old master, which touched the royal conscience or heart, so that Henry forthwith gave orders for the restitution of all his property to the oppressed man. That King's death, however, happened before any thing could be done, and it was not till three or four years after, that King Edward or his government, we are not informed under what influence, was prevailed upon to allow his father's mandate to be carried into effect. But at last, in the year 1550, letters patent were issued restoring to Fermor all his lands that still remained in the possession

of the Crown; and even for various lordships and manors that had been alienated, some compensation, however inadequate, was made by the grant of others in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Essex.

Among those of his former estates which he recovered were both Towcester and Eston-Neston; and the old gentleman had the happiness of resuming the occupation of his mansion at the latter place, and of continuing to reside in it so long as he lived. His death is recorded to have happened on the 17th of November 1552. And, to round off his history, or legend, it is told that, having some presentiment of the coming event, he invited a large party of his friends and neighbours to dine with him on that day, when, having after dinner taken formal leave of them one by one, he retired to his own apartment, and was soon after found there in a posture of devotion and dead.

This Richard Fermor, the great grocer, whose wife was a daughter of Sir William Brown, Lord Mayor of London, had five sons and as many daughters. All the latter were married, one of them to William Lucy, of Charlecote, in Warwickshire, by whom she was the mother of Sir William Lucy, who figures in the juvenile biography of Shakespeare. His eldest son, Sir John (who probably conformed to the established church), was succeeded by his eldest son Sir George;* he by his eldest son,

* It was one of the eight daughters of this Sir George Fermor, or Farmer, who became the wife of the unfortunate Lord Sanquhar. (See *Vol.* III. *p.* 357.) She is called *Anne* by the Scotch peerage-writers, *Mary* by the English, who make her to have been the youngest of five of the sisters who were married. She is stated also to have, after the death of her

Sir Hatton; he by his eldest son, Sir William, who was made a Baronet in 1641, and whose son and successor, of the same Christian name, was in 1692 raised to the peerage as Baron Lempster. Lord Lempster rebuilt Easton Hall, and adorned the house and gardens with a portion of the ancient statues collected by Lord Arundel, of which he became the purchaser when they were brought to sale in the year 1678. His eldest son Thomas, was in 1721 advanced to the dignity of Earl of Pomfret; and it was by his widow, a grand-daughter of the Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, and the writer of the "Letters" published in 1805, that the Pomfret Marbles, as they are called, were in 1753 presented to the University of Oxford, and so reunited to the other portion of the original collection, of which the University had become possessed, by the gift of Henry sixth Duke of Norfolk, in 1667. The present peer is the fifth Earl, and the great-grandson of the first.

first husband, remarried Barnaby O'Brien, sixth Earl of Thomond. The report about her, mentioned by Chamberlain (see *Vol.* III. *pp.* 360, 361), must, therefore, have been in all probability without any foundation.

THE FIRST OF THE BOUVERIES.

The family of Des Bouveries, De la Bouverie, or De Bouverie, had been of eminence in the Low Countries from the fourteenth century; but it was not till the latter part of the sixteenth that the branch of it which now flourishes among our English nobility, was transplanted to this country.

The story that is told, and for which there appears to be documentary evidence, is this: Laurence des Bouveries, a younger son of the Sieur des Bouveries, was born in the family château at Sainghin, near Lisle, in Flanders, in the year 1542. It was the age, when all over Europe the new opinions in religion were spreading like a flame which has caught the summer grass, and, carried now in this now in that direction as if by the changing and chainless winds, in some countries made a universal conflagration, in others, where that was prevented by strong repressive measures, or by what seemed to be mere chance, still ran along in irresistible lines, and oftentimes would suddenly appear where the danger was the least apprehended. Young Bouverie's ingenuous and ardent mind is said to have been lighted up by the conversation of some tenants on the family estate. His father's suspicions were first excited by the frequent absence of the young man from mass.

Having probably got little satisfaction by questioning his son, he one day told him that if he should again be missed from the family gathering at church on Sunday or Saint's day, he would have him delivered over to be examined by the officers of the Inquisition. Made desperate by this threat, the youth saw nothing for it but to effect his escape without loss of time from the dominion of Spain, and of the Holy Office; so, turning his back on the ancestral château, he took flight for the Rhine, and, crossing that river, found himself ere long in the free town of Frankfort. There, weary and doubtless depressed enough, he sat down to rest himself at the gate of a large mansion. A good providence had guided his steps: that moment, when his spirits were the most sunk, and the future probably seemed all a void to him, was the beginning of his prosperity. It chanced that the master of the house came up to the gate while he was still there. In answer to his questions, Bouverie related his story without reserve. He could not have found a more sympathising auditor: the old gentleman had himself been driven from his native country (apparently the Dutch Netherlands) on account of his religion; he told Bouverie, who he saw, he said, by the whiteness of his hands, had not been used to manual labour, that he was the proprietor of a silk manufactory, and if he would live with him he should only have to superintend the workmen, and to keep the accounts. Bouverie gladly accepted this kind offer, and his conduct soon so completely gained him the heart of his protector, that, after having given him his niece in marriage (Barbara Vanden Hove, was, it seems, the

lady's maiden name), he bequeathed him at his death his manufactory and all that he possessed. By this time, too, Bouverie had made himself master of the art of silk-weaving; so that he soon after determined to take advantage of a favourable opportunity, and to transfer himself and his business to England, then, under the wise policy of Elizabeth, by the encouragement of foreign, applying the best stimulus to native industry, or rather in that way making the industry and skill of other countries its own. He had established himself at Canterbury by the year 1568, as appears from the Register of the Walloon congregation there; when, if the date assigned to his birth be correct, he would only have attained the age of six-and-twenty.

It is supposed also, that two of his brothers, who must, in that case, have likewise taken to Protestantism, although their story has not been preserved, either accompanied or followed him to England; it is certain, at least, that a daughter of one brother, John, and a son of another, Anthony, were at a later date married and resident in this country. Anthony's son left descendants.

As for Laurence, the head of the English Bouveries, he is recorded to have had by his wife Barbara, five sons and three daughters. All the eight were married except one of the sons; but, if we may judge from the names of their husbands and wives, the English Bouveries of the principal stock still confined themselves for this second generation to alliances among those of their own tongue and nation. One of Laurence's sons appears to have gone over to his mother's native country, and to have settled as a clergyman in Holland.

Laurence Bouverie also married a second wife after the death of his first, but by her he had no issue. We are not told how long he lived.

His eldest son, Edward, is stated to have married at Cologne a granddaughter of a German Protestant gentleman, who had been burnt as a heretic, and had been drawn to the place of execution by his own coach horses. His son, also named Edward, acquired a large fortune as a Turkey merchant, and was knighted by James the Second. Even this Sir Edward Bouverie, or Des Bouveries, still married, like his predecessors, into a family of foreign descent; his wife was a daughter of Jacob de la Forterie, merchant of London. His eldest son, William, also an eminent Turkey merchant, greatly increased the fortune left him by his father, and was in 1714 created a baronet. His eldest son, Sir Edward des Bouveries, having died without issue, was succeeded in the baronetcy, and also in the family estates, by his brother Jacob, who in 1747 was raised to the peerage as Viscount Folkstone. His eldest son, William, was in 1765 created Earl of Radnor, and was the grandfather of the present peer.

The first Earl of Radnor, it ought to be added, greatly enriched the blood of the Bouveries by his first marriage with the only child of Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell, Baronet. His eldest son, the late Earl, whose mother this lady was, was thus enabled, as soon as he came to the title, to erect over the family sepulchral vault at Britford, near Salisbury, a monumental display of the family heraldry exhibiting no fewer than forty-three different coats of arms.

It might seem to be only the natural course of things, or what we should expect to happen not unfrequently, that the man who has risen (otherwise than by succession) from being a commoner to be a peer should afterwards make his way from the lowest to the highest rank in the peerage. The same impulse or buoyancy, whatever it may have consisted in, or come of, whether extraordinary merit and services, or persevering ambition, or consummate dexterity and insinuation, or mere good fortune, which has carried him so far, ought, it may be thought, to carry him still farther. Having lifted him up to be a baron or a viscount, why should its action stop till it has elevated him to a Marquisate or a Dukedom?

But the fact is, that to surmount the barrier which separates the peerage from the rest of the community is, generally speaking, easier than to pass from one rank of the peerage to another. The structure narrows faster than it rises. Of its three tiers or stages (for the Viscounts may be regarded as only a higher division of the Barons, and the Marquises as a subordinate kind of Dukes), the lowest is nearly twice as spacious as the one next above it, and the latter three times as spacious as the highest. At present the number of English

Barons and Viscounts is about two hundred and twenty, that of the Earls about one hundred and twenty, that of the Dukes and Marquises about forty. Above two hundred and fifty English peerages were conferred in the reign of George the Third, but only three of them were Dukedoms. From the accession of George the Second, indeed, to the present day, a period of more than a hundred and twenty years, (if we except the variation of the Newcastle patent in 1756*) only six hereditary Dukedoms have been created, and of these, one (that of Montagu) is already extinct. Of nearly two hundred and seventy Irish peers made in the reign of George the Third, only one was a Duke.†

There are several examples of persons rising from the condition of commoners, without the direct aid of claims derived from birth, to the summit of the peerage; but in almost all such cases, at least in modern times, there has been either a basis of noble extraction to begin with, or some other kind of connexion equally or still more potential. The Protector Somerset, who, from a private gentleman, was made first a Viscount, then an Earl, and finally a Duke, was the brother-in-law of one King, and the uncle of another. Villiers, who in the next century, being originally a commoner, was in like manner created successively a Viscount, an Earl, a Marquis, and a Duke, was the all-potent favourite of a third King. If the General of

* See *Vol.* III., *p.* 278.

† The dukedoms that have been conferred upon members of the Royal Family, as being almost of the nature of honours to which the illustrious grantees are born, or at least to which they are admitted as a matter of course, are not taken into account in these enumerations.

the Restoration, George Monk, was at that extraordinary crisis all at once made a Baron, an Earl, and a Duke, it was by one whom he may almost be said to have made a king. The great Marlborough was probably, in part at least, indebted for his first step in the peerage to the circumstance of his sister being the king's mistress. Sir Hugh Smithson, the founder of the Dukedom of Northumberland, owed his elevation, first to an Earldom, and afterwards to his higher title, to his having married the heiress of the Percies. Even our own Wellington, all whose honours have been so well won, though he remained a commoner till he was past forty, to find himself a Duke before he was five years older, was born the son of an Irish Earl, and had an elder brother, who, preceding him in the acquisition of uninherited distinction, had already risen to be an English Marquis.

One case stands by itself. When Sir Thomas Osborne was made Lord High Treasurer by Charles the Second's Cabal ministry, in June, 1673, he is described by Burnet as having been "a gentleman of Yorkshire, whose estate was much sunk." He was at this time about forty years of age, and had held the office of Treasurer of the Navy for the last two years, having also been a Privy Councillor for about a year. About two months after his appointment as Lord Treasurer, he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Latimer; within a year after he was created Earl of Danby; in April 1689 he was advanced to be Marquis of Carmarthen; and in May 1694 he was made Duke of Leeds. He enjoyed his Dukedom for about eighteen years, dying

in 1712 at the age of eighty. And his honours have descended ever since from father to son; the present Duke, who is the seventh, is his great-great-great-great-grandson.

Sir Thomas Osborne achieved his elevation by very considerable ability and real merit as a statesman and financier, as well as by cleverly trimming his sails in accommodation to the unsettled and shifting politics of his day. Burnet's character of him is a strain of the Bishop's usual jumble:—"He was a very plausible speaker, but too copious, and could not easily make an end of his discourse. He had been always among the high cavaliers, and, missing preferment, he had opposed the Court much, and was one of Lord Clarendon's bitterest enemies. He gave himself great liberties in discourse, and did not seem to have any regard to truth, or so much as to the appearances of it, and was an implacable enemy; but he had a peculiar way to make his friends depend on him, and to believe he was true to them. He was a positive and undertaking man; so he gave the King great ease by assuring him all things would go according to his mind in the next session of parliament; and when his hopes failed him, he had always some excuse ready to put the miscarriage upon. And by this means he got into the highest degree of confidence with the King, and maintained it the longest of all that ever served him."* Lord Dartmouth, in a note on this passage, says,—"I never knew a man that could express himself so clearly, or that seemed to carry his point so much by force of a superior under-

* *Own Time*, I. 351.

standing. In private conversation he had a particular art in making the company tell their opinions without discovering of his own; which he would afterwards make use of very much to his advantage, by undertaking that people should be of an opinion that he knew was theirs before." The Duke, however, though he might perhaps be called a cunning man, had more principle and honesty, as well as more good sense and moderation, than most of his competitors in that game of politics which he played upon the whole with such remarkable success. He is said to have been happy in the application of his economical talent and skill to the improvement of his own wasted or encumbered estate, as well as of the national finances, and from a poor squire to have made himself a rich man as well as a Duke.

The Lady Sophia Osborne, sixth and youngest daughter of the first Duke of Leeds, was the mother of the first Earl of Pomfret; and the Duke died at his grandson's seat of Easton Hall. The Osbornes, as well as the Fermors, whose history has been related a few pages back, drew the beginning of their prosperity from commerce.

In the early part of the sixteenth century there lived a wealthy cloth-worker, or manufacturer of woollens, in one of the houses that then, and down to a much later date, stood upon London Bridge, forming continuous ranges all the way along, and giving it the appearance of an ordinary street. It seems to have been accounted rather a preferable, almost a genteel, locality; it was the grand entry to the metropolis, by

which passed, of necessity, all those pomps and shows, and processions of state and ceremony, which made so important a part of the life of our forefathers; nowhere was there more stir and activity of every kind, and at all hours; and for good air, and plenty of it, there could have been no street comparable to the Bridge anywhere else in London. The very sound of the river beneath was considered musical and soothing; it is related that those who had been used to it could not easily fall asleep at night without having it in their ear. In front of the houses flowed from morning to night an unceasing current of the busiest and most various humanity; and the back windows had another kind of cheerfulness of their own,—a spacious and open prospect over town, country, and sky, with a full share of both the sunshine and the breeze whenever there was any of either. Nor would the merry water below, glancing in the light, usually excite any feeling of fear; any constant or familiar danger, however great, loses its power over the imagination; Damocles himself, would have come to look with indifference at the sword suspended over his head after a little while. But the glittering river did not the less for that ever and anon give proof of what a serpent it was in subtlety, as well as in brightness and beauty. One day, in the house of the rich cloth-merchant, a servant maid leant out of one of those high back casements, holding an infant, her master's daughter and only child, in her arms, when, in one of its bounds of delight, it suddenly sprung from her grasp, and, dropping into the rushing tide, would have been lost, but for an apprentice of the merchant's

named Edward Osborne, who, instantly leaping in after it, caught hold of it, and brought it safe ashore. Perhaps he was at the window along with the servant girl, and had not been without his share in occasioning the accident; or he may have been below in a boat, or standing on the river bank, and his known face, when the infant was held out to him, may have been the attraction that fascinated the little innocent. In fashioning the circumstances of the exploit, the imagination is left free to glide, like the river, "at its own sweet will;" for only the main fact has been transmitted.

The incident is said to have happened about the year 1536. It may have been some sixteen or eighteen years after this, that the young lady thus miraculously preserved was given in marriage by her grateful and right-minded father, and, let us hope, not without her own willing acquiescence, to him to whose gallantry she owed her life. Her hand, we are told, was asked by several suitors of rank; mention is made in particular of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who must have been George, the sixth Earl, afterwards married to Elizabeth Hardwick; but the worthy cloth-worker kept steady to his maxim: "Osborne saved her, and Osborne shall enjoy her." Sir William Hewet, as he eventually became, who was Lord Mayor in 1559, and died in 1566, is said to have left an estate of six thousand a year. Edward Osborne, who in due time received the honour of knighthood, was elected Lord Mayor in 1582, and one of the members for the city three years later, and lived till 1591. He had lost Anne Hewet, and married

again; but his first wife was the mother of his son, Sir Hewet Osborne, who distinguished himself as a soldier, and was the father of Sir Edward Osborne, Baronet, who was the father of the first Duke of Leeds. Strype, who first told the story in print, had it from a Reverend John Hewet, or Hewyt, probably a connexion of the great cloth-worker, to whom it had been related by his Grace. Strype observes that the picture of Sir William in his robes of office as Lord Mayor was still preserved by the Leeds family at their seat of Kiveton House, in Yorkshire; they valued it, he oddly adds, at two hundred pounds.* Pennant describes the picture, which he had seen at Kiveton, as "a half length on board;" Hewet's dress, he says, is "a black gown furred, a red vest and sleeve, a gold chain, and a bonnet."†

* *Strype's Stow*, II. 134. † *London*, 450.

THE POLTIMORE BAMFYLDES.

THE family of Bamfylde was only raised to the peerage in 1831, in the person of the present Baron Poltimore; but his lordship's predecessors had been Baronets for nearly two centuries, and had stood in the first rank of the gentry almost ever since the rise of that order in England. The Bamfyldes were originally seated at Weston Bamfield, in the county of Somerset; but Poltimore, in Devonshire, has also been long in their possession. It has the honour of being noticed by Camden in the *Britannia* as "the seat of the famous and very ancient family of Bampfield."* In Camden's own time, nevertheless, the fortunes of the Bamfyldes had suffered as remarkable an eclipse as any family has ever re-emerged from.

The story, like all such stories, is told with some variation of the circumstances. The earliest version of it appears to be that given by the Reverend John Prince, Vicar of Berry Pomeroy, in his *Worthies of Devon,* first published in 1701 :—

"I ought not to pretermit a most memorable passage, of undoubted credit, which happened to one of the heirs of this house not many generations back. It was thus:—His father dying, the young gentleman fell a

* *Gibson's Translation,* I. 39.

ward to some great person in the east country, who, seizing upon him while he was very young, carried him away to his own home. He, being now possessed of his person and estate, some years after gave it out he was gone to travel, or the like pretence; insomuch [that] his relations and friends, believing it to be true, looked no farther after him. So that, concealing from him his quality and condition, and preventing what he could any discovery thereof, his guardian bred him up as his servant, and at last made him his huntsman. It happened that one of Mr. Bamfylde's tenants, understanding something of this mystery, made it his business first to find him out, and next to discourse with him about it, which in a little time he had an opportunity to do; when, acquainting him with his birth and fortune, it was agreed on between them that he should come at such a time and privately fetch him away. This he did accordingly, and so retrieved the right heir of the family, which hath here flourished in great honour ever since, and God grant it long to do."*

This is so very vague and imperfect a relation, as to afford us little more means of judging of its truth than a nursery legend. Those parts of it which may appear not very probable might perhaps be explained if we had more of the details. There is no question, however, about the ancestor of the present Bamfyldes having acquired the inheritance of the family in the circumstances represented. He claimed to be Richard, only son of Edward Bamfylde, or Baumfield, of Poltimore, who died about the middle of the sixteenth century,

* *Worthies of Devon*, 35, 36 (edit. of 1810).

leaving, as was thought at the time, only five daughters. This Richard lived in 1594. His early history is thus told by Thomas Wotton in his *English Baronets*, first published in 1727, rather more precisely than it had been by Prince a quarter of a century before, and with an additional circumstance or two:—

"There is a tradition that during this gentleman's minority he became a prey to some great person, who carried him into a distant country, and bred him up in the drudgery of the family, concealing from him his quality and estate, and at last made him his huntsman; but one of his tenants (being his nurse's husband), discovering where he was detained, made him acquainted with his fortune; the truth of which he convinced him of by a remarkable mole which he had in his back, and brought him away privately to Brimpton, the seat of John Sydenham, Esq., who assisted him in his return to Poltimore, and soon after gave him his daughter in marriage."*

Whether the claim was supported by any other evidence than the mole, we are not informed. Wotton only adds, in confirmation of the story, that on his monument in Poltimore Church, Bamfylde "lieth at length with a hound at his feet." One might almost have supposed that the popular tradition about him had all grown out of this emblem on his tombstone. But such is not the case. Wotton's successor, Kimber, indeed, in repeating the story observes, that he has received no account of the particulars from the Bamfylde family, and therefore he does not presume to give it as authentic;† but it had been long before incorporated

* *Wotton*, I. 385. † *Baronetage of England*, 1771, I. 376.

with the annals of another family, apparently upon documentary evidence, in one of the most learned and elaborate of our genealogical works, *The History of the House of Ivory*. George Perceval, of Rolleston, in Somersetshire, the head of one of the principal branches of this house, ancestor of the Earl of Egmont and Lord Arden, being then only of the age of eighteen, married in 1549 Elizabeth, the second of the five daughters of Edward, or, as he is here entitled, Sir Edward Bamfylde, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Wadham. The match was thought an honourable one, even for a Perceval; for, while the bride's mother was descended from Longspee Earl of Salisbury, the son of King Henry the Second and Rosamond Clifford, and from the Nevils and other ancient baronial lines, her paternal grandmother had been the heiress of the St. Maurs, and, as such, had allied the Bamfyldes to nearly every sovereign house in Europe. "By this marriage," writes the historian of the Percevals, "a very great descent in blood occurred to this family;" and he enumerates among the lady's other illustrious progenitors the old Anglo-Saxon and Scottish Kings, the Kings of Hungary, the Franconian Emperors of Germany, the house of Charlemagne, the Kings of Russia, the Emperors of Constantinople, to say nothing of mere nobility, English and foreign. Then he digresses as follows:—

"And here we must observe, before we proceed any farther, a very remarkable incident with relation to this marriage.

"Elizabeth Bamfylde, the wife of George Perceval,

of whom we here treat, had at first a portion only of two thousand marks, which was left her by her father, together with the increase that might be made during her minority. This fortune, though a provision suited to the quality of either of the parties in an age when money was yet extremely scarce in England, and the fashion of giving portions very slightly introduced, was still not a sufficient inducement to the relations of this George to dispose of him in marriage to that lady, he being then looked upon as master, in possession on reversion, of one of the greatest estates in the western parts of England, the whole amounting to two thousand pounds *per annum*.

"But this Elizabeth Bamfylde was at that time considered as one of the greatest heiresses in those parts, both for family and fortune. As to the first, we have already hinted at it: but, as to her fortune, her elder brother Edward dying without issue, and another named Richard being reputed also dead for many years, she was thought to be a co-heir to the great estate of St. Maur and Bamfylde.

"This belief was so strong, that it prevailed everywhere; insomuch that in many contemporary pedigrees, drawn by the greatest heralds of those times, this Elizabeth is insisted on as co-heir of that family. And this of Perceval did then and since continue to quarter all the arms of those great houses from the heiresses of which they are derived through this of Bamfylde; among which those of the Crown of Scotland, and of England before the Conquest, are not the least considerable.

"It was consequently expected that upon the full age of this George Perceval he should have been admitted into the property of these great estates in right of his wife; when on a sudden appeared a man who styled himself Richard Bamfylde, the second son of the late Sir Edward Bamfylde, by Elizabeth Wadham. This man gaining a woman, who pretended to have been his nurse, she swore positively that she knew him to be the person he affirmed himself to be by certain marks upon his body, which tallied exactly with those of that Richard Bamfylde she had formerly nursed.

"And such was the weight of this evidence, that, however suspicious it might seem, the said Richard Bamfylde, who had been employed in the lowest offices of life in the family of a private gentleman, and was at the time of this claim no better than a huntsman in the same house, obtained possession of the estate; and from him descended the family of Bamfylde, which still flourish very worthily in the same county of Devon; the family of Perceval in vain then, and less efficaciously now, insisting on their rights, of which they have maintained no other than quartering the arms to which they were entitled by that marriage, and in which they are warranted by so many authorities of the time itself. But the modesty of this house at present discontinues this demonstration of a right which is but imperfectly acknowledged, declining to add any lustre which they derive from a contested title to the other great and indisputed rights which they enjoy."*

By his wife, Elizabeth Sydenham, who survived to

* *House of Ivory*, II. 109—114.

1599, Richard Bamfylde had a son Sir Amias. He was the grandfather of Sir John Bamfylde, who was created a Baronet in 1641, and who was the great-great-great-great grandfather of the present Lord Poltimore, formerly Sir George Warwick Bamfylde, the sixth Baronet.

ANNE CLIFFORD.

THE story of Richard Bamfylde may call to mind another relating to a more famous family name; that of Henry Clifford, the Shepherd Lord, which has been made familiar to all readers of our modern poetry by Wordsworth's stirring chant, the "Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle."

The Barony of Clifford, created in the last year but one of the thirteenth century, still survives, indebted for its long endurance, like most of the few other subsisting English peerages of great antiquity, to the circumstance of its being, as a Barony by writ, descendible to and through females,—a peculiarity, however, which, while it makes the honour almost indestructible, tends to prevent its continuance in the same line, or at least the same paternal name. Such a peerage may circulate from hand to hand, or from one family to another, almost like a landed estate or a sum of money. It is rather matter of surprise that so many of our old honours thus circumstanced should have remained so long in the male line of the original grantee, detained only by the right of preference which attaches to the male heir when standing in equally near relationship with a female. For the entire effect of the arrangement is not, as is apt to be assumed, simply to

sustain and continue the hereditary dignity which would otherwise drop and become extinct: in many cases the peerage which is so carried into a new line would, but for its descendibility through females, have been transmitted, it may be for many more generations, in the old one. A younger brother, for instance, or his male representative, the head of the original house, is excluded in favour of a daughter or her descendant, male or female, in whom the original family name has for the most part been lost in another.

The early history of the Cliffords may be given in short space. They are said to be sprung from an uncle of William the Conqueror; William, surnamed Ponce or Poncius, third son of Richard fourth Duke of Normandy, and younger brother of Robert the sixth Duke, the Conqueror's father. Poncius, who was Earl of Arques and Toulouse, came over to England with his nephew. His third son, Richard Fitzpontz, of Llangudhry Castle, in Wales, married Maud, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Toni, of Clifford Castle, in Herefordshire; and their second son Walter, succeeding to his mother's estates, assumed the name of Clifford. This first of the Norman Cliffords was the father of the Fair Rosamond, the famous mistress of King Henry the Second. He died in 1176. His great-grandson Roger de Clifford acquired the inheritance of the Veteripont, or Vipont, Lords of Brougham Castle in Westmoreland, and hereditary Sheriffs of that county, by his marriage with Isabel, one of the two daughters and co-heirs of Robert de Vipont, the last of that race. It was their son Robert

who was first summoned to sit in parliament, by a writ dated the 29th of December 1299.

The Lords Clifford were still, as at first, Cliffords by surname as well as by titular appellation, at the breaking out of the War of the Roses in the middle of the fifteenth century. Thomas, the eighth Baron, fell in 1455 at the first battle of St. Alban's, with which the great struggle for the crown began. His son, named John, who now succeeded to the honour, was only a youth in his twentieth year; but in those days, when the rapid decay of one generation forced on, or at any rate made room and scope for, an equally rapid growth and ripening of the next, he was quite ready to assume his father's sword and harness, as well as his title and position in the state. His popular appellation of the Black-faced Clifford points to his complexion, but his name glows with a fierce red in the page of history. He is the Clifford who murdered the young Earl of Rutland, brother of Edward the Fourth, at or after the battle of Wakefield, as shown forth in *The Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, or rather in the earlier play entitled *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, from which that particular scene has been transferred with scarcely any alteration. Edward Hall, who has been copied by Grafton and other later chroniclers, is the first relator of the story, which he has given in his customary full and graphic style. Let us turn for a moment to his venerable tome.

We here read that, while the battle was still going on, the Earl, being "scarce of the age of twelve years, a fair gentleman and a maiden-like person," was quietly

and secretly led away from the field by his chaplain and schoolmaster, Sir Robert Aspall, towards the town; but, before they could gain a house in which to conceal themselves, the two were espied by the Lord Clifford, who was stationed with his band, or company of followers, near the way they took, and who instantly sent in pursuit of them. When they were brought before him, seeing the richness of the boy's apparel, Clifford asked him sternly who or what he was. "The young gentleman, dismayed, had not a word to speak, but kneeled on his knees, imploring mercy and desiring grace, both with holding up his hands and making dolorous countenance, for his speech was gone for fear. Save him, said his chaplain, for he is a prince's son, and peradventure may do you good hereafter. With that word the Lord Clifford marked him and said, By God's blood, thy father slew mine, and so will I do thee and all thy kin; and with that word struck the Earl to the heart with his dagger, and bade his chaplain bear the Earl's mother and brother word what he had done and said." Rutland's father, Richard Duke of York, lay already among the slain. In this act, adds Hall, "the Lord Clifford was accounted a tyrant, and no gentleman." Nor was this the ruthless Baron's only atrocity in that hour of vindictive triumph. "This cruel Clifford and deadly bloodsucker," the narrative concludes, "not content with this homicide or child-killing, came to the place where the dead corpse of the Duke of York lay, and caused his head to be stricken off, and set on it a crown of paper, and so fixed it on a pole, and presented it to the Queen, not lying far from the

field, in great despite and much derision, saying, Madam, your war is done; here is your King's ransom. At which present was much joy and great rejoicing: but many laughed then that soon lamented after."

This was on the last day but one of the year 1460. Clifford himself did not laugh long,—any more than King Henry and Queen Margaret; he was slain, struck in the throat by a headless arrow, at the battle of Towton, fought within three months from this date, namely, on Palm Sunday, the 29th of March, in the year following, when the recently victorious Lancastrian cause was for the present effectually beaten down and trampled into the bloody earth. As for Clifford's victim, Edmund of Rutland, he cannot have been quite so young as Hall makes him; for he was next brother to Edward the Fourth, who was born in 1441, and he had at least four younger brothers and sisters, the last-born of whom, George Duke of Clarence, would be of the age of nine or ten at the battle of Wakefield; but that is of little moment. The slaughter in cold blood of the unarmed boy, supplicating for his life, was still a monstrous act, though, instead of only twelve, his age may have been fifteen or sixteen. His murderer was himself only five-and-twenty.

The crushing of the Red Rose at Towton was the utter ruin of the house of Clifford. The late Baron was forthwith attainted in parliament, and all his lands seized by the crown, which hastened to divide the spoil with the local rivals and old enemies of the fallen family. Thus, his chief manor of Skipton was given to Sir William Stanley, (the same who afterwards himself

went over to the Lancastrian side, and is said to have placed the crown on the head of Henry the Seventh at the battle of Bosworth), while the Barony of Westmoreland was reserved by King Edward for his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester (afterwards King Richard the Third). But the Black-faced Lord, besides a daughter, of whom little or nothing is recorded except the simple fact of her marriage, had left two sons, so that there yet remained a spark not trodden out from which the old Clifford name might some day revive and flame forth again.

For the present, however, it was necessary that the existence of the boys, one of whom was in his seventh, the other in his sixth year, should be carefully concealed; for probably the loss of their inheritance, and the corruption of their blood, would not have sufficed to satiate the vengeance of the victorious faction, and nothing less than the lives of the two infants might have been deemed enough to atone for that of the murdered Rutland. The earliest, and, in some respects, the fullest or most distinct account of the way in which they were disposed of, is that given by Dugdale:—

Strict inquiry, we are told, being made after them, "and their sorrowful mother examined about them, she said that she had given direction to convey them beyond sea, to be bred up there, and that, being thither sent, she was ignorant whether they were living or not; part of which answer was true, for she had really sent the younger of them into the Netherlands, who died there not long after; but the elder (named Henry) she placed at Lonsborow, in Yorkshire, where

she herself then lived, with a shepherd who had married one of her inferior servants (an attendant on his nurse); where, though he was brought up in no better a condition than the shepherd's own children, he cheerfully submitted thereto as the only expedient for preservation of his life, supporting himself only with hopes of better days in time." *

Margaret, Lady Clifford, the widow of the Black-faced Lord, was the only child of Henry Bromflete, who had in 1449 been created by writ Baron de Vesci, but by a special clause in the summons, of which there is no other example, with limitation of the dignity to the heirs male of his body. His daughter, therefore, succeeded only to his estates, of which, that of Lonsborow † was the chief. Not long after the death of Lord Clifford,—partly, perhaps, that she might have a protector for herself and her boys, or remaining boy, in the desolation of the family,—she had become the wife of Sir Lancelot Threlkeld, of Threlkeld, in Cumberland, who had either taken the side of the White Rose in the great national quarrel, or at least had not compromised himself to a ruinous extent on the other side. Whatever was the colour of his politics, Sir Lancelot had a kind and generous heart. Dugdale goes on to relate, that upon the death of Lord de Vesci, which happened in 1468, when the high-born shepherd boy would have attained his fourteenth year, a rumour again arose and reached the

* *Baronage*, I. 343. Dugdale, whose first volume bears the date of 1675, quotes as his authority a MS. in the possession of Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke.

† Otherwise written *Lensbarrow*, *Lanesborough*, and *Londesborough*.

Court that the young Lord Clifford was alive. The decease of the old lord would naturally set people a talking about what descendants he had left to inherit his lands, if not his honours. This greatly alarmed the boy's mother; and, with the connivance and assistance of her husband, she had the shepherd, with whom she had placed her son, removed, with his wife and family, from Yorkshire to the more mountainous country of Cumberland, where she settled him in a farm near the Scottish borders; after which, it is added in conclusion, Lady Clifford, "sometimes at Threlkeld and at other places on those borders, privately visited this her beloved child."

If Lady Clifford lived with her husband, as it is to be presumed she did, at Threlkeld, in having her son transferred out of Yorkshire into Cumberland she brought him nearer to herself. The village of Threlkeld, which lies between Keswick and Penrith, has the traditionary reputation of having been long the place of concealment of the Shepherd Lord. Probably the simple fact is, that his mother endeavoured, as far as might be, to keep him under her own eye, and that, having, so long as she resided with her father at Lonsborow, had him concealed in that neighbourhood, she removed him to Cumberland as soon as she could after she became the wife of Sir Lancelot Threlkeld, and took up her own residence in that county.

Our great modern poet, however, with whom the legend of the Shepherd Lord is an especial favourite, has imagined a complete separation between the mother and son, and not improbably may have the authority

of the local traditions for that way of telling the story :—

" Now who is he that bounds with joy
On Carrock's side, a Shepherd Boy ?
No thought hath he but thoughts that pass
Light as the wind along the grass.
Can this be he who hither came
In secret, like a smothered flame ?
O'er whom such thankful tears were shed
For shelter, and a poor man's bread !
God loves the child ; and God hath willed
That those dear words should be fulfilled,
The Lady's words, when forced away,
The last she to her babe did say ;
' My own, my own, thy fellow guest
I may not be ; but rest thee, rest,
For lowly shepherd's life is best.' "

So Wordsworth has made his imaginary minstrel recite the tale in the " Song at the Feast of Brougham." In his own person, again, he sings in " The Waggoner : "—

" And see beyond that hamlet small,
The ruined towers of Threlkeld hall,
Lurking in a double shade,
By trees and lingering twilight made !
There, at Blencathara's rugged feet,
Sir Lancelot gave a safe retreat
To noble Clifford ; from annoy
Concealed the persecuted boy,
Well pleased in rustic garb to feed
His flock, and pipe on shepherd's reed ;
Among this multitude of hills,
Crags, woodlands, waterfalls, and rills."

In this obscurity the heir of the Cliffords not only passed the remainder of his boyhood, but all his youth and his early manhood. There are divers and discord-

ant accounts of the way in which he spent all this length of time, and of the manner of man that he grew up to be under the merely natural influences to which he would appear to have been left. Wordsworth, in his "White Doe of Rylstone," speaks of

> "the gracious Fairy,
> Who loved the Shepherd Lord to meet
> In his wanderings solitary;
> Wild notes she in his hearing sang,
> A song of Nature's hidden powers;
> That whistled like the wind, and rang
> Among the rocks and holly bowers.
> 'Twas said that she all shapes could wear;
> And oftentimes before him stood,
> Amid the trees of some thick wood,
> In semblance of a lady fair,
> And taught him signs, and showed him sights,
> In Craven's dens, or Cumbria's heights;
> When under cloud of fear he lay,
> A shepherd clad in homely grey."

The accession of Henry the Seventh—in reality the triumph, final and conclusive, of the Red Rose, though in show and pretence the blending of both Roses into one,—restored the Clifford to his birthright, and to all that had been possessed by his noble ancestors. This is an historic fact, attested by an act of the legislature. How his identity was proved, or whether it was disputed, does not appear. One part of the romance is delightful; his mother still lived. She did not die till the year 1493.

When he was thus suddenly converted from a poor shepherd into a rich and powerful lord, Clifford was a man of one-and-thirty. According to the "White Doe of Rylstone," the Fairy, who had been his com-

panion, or frequent visitant and instructor, in his earlier mountain life, left him not "at his later day." And, it is added,

> "not in wars did he delight;
> This Clifford wished for worthier might:
> Nor in proud pomp, nor courtly state;
> Him his own thoughts did elevate,—
> Most happy in the shy recess
> Of Barden's humble quietness.
> And choice of studious friends had he
> Of Bolton's dear fraternity;
> Who, standing on this old church tower,
> In many a calm propitious hour
> Perused with him the starry sky;
> Or in their cells with him did pry
> For other lore,—through strong desire
> Searching the earth with chemic fire."

The Feast of Brougham is supposed to have been held on occasion of the Clifford's restoration. There the past life of the Shepherd Lord is thus described :—

> "His garb is humble; ne'er was seen
> Such garb with such a noble mien;
> Among the shepherd grooms no mate
> Hath he, a child of strength and state!
> Yet lacks not friends for solemn glee,
> And a cheerful company,
> That learned of him submissive ways,
> And comforted his private days.
> To his side the fallow-deer
> Came, and rested without fear;
> The eagle, lord of land and sea,
> Stooped down to pay him fealty;
> And both the undying fish that swim
> Through Bowscale-Tarn did wait on him:
> The pair were servants of his eye
> In their immortality;
> They moved about in open sight,
> To and fro, for his delight.

He knew the rocks which angels haunt
On the mountains visitant;
He hath kenned them taking wing:
And the caves where fairies sing
He hath entered, and been told
By voices how men lived of old.
Among the heavens his eye can see
Face of thing that is to be;
And, if men report him right,
He can whisper words of might."

The enthusiastic bard, indeed, is represented as mistaken in his principal anticipation, that the restored lord would emulate the warlike prowess of his ancestors:—

"Alas, the fervent harper did not know
That for a tranquil soul the lay was framed,
Who, long compelled in humble paths to go,
Was softened into feeling, soothed, and tamed."

The modern poet assures us that

"In him the savage virtue of the race,
Revenge and all ferocious thoughts were dead;
Nor did he change; but kept in lofty place
The wisdom which adversity had bred."

This is all after, or in sufficient agreement with, the traditionary memory that has been preserved of the Shepherd Lord. Dugdale, on the authority of accounts communicated by the family, reports that he became a great builder, and repaired several of his castles, but resided chiefly at Barden Tower, in Yorkshire, to be near the Priory of Bolton; "to the end that he might have opportunity to converse with some of the Canons of that house, as it is said, who were well versed in astronomy; unto which study having a singular

affection (perhaps in regard to his solitary shepherd's life, which gave him time for contemplation), he fitted himself with divers instruments for use therein." * According to Dugdale, moreover, his lordship had never been taught to read, and never, even to the end of his days, advanced farther in the higher mystery of writing than to sign his name.

Whitaker, in like manner, represents the restored lord as having brought to his new position "the manners and education of a shepherd," and as being, "at this time, almost, if not altogether, illiterate." But it is added that he was "far from deficient in natural understanding, and, what strongly marks an ingenuous mind in a state of recent elevation, depressed by a consciousness of his own deficiencies." "On this account," we are further told, "he retired to the solitude of Barden, where he seems to have enlarged the Tower, out of a common keeper's lodge, and where he found a retreat equally favourable to taste, to instruction, and to devotion." After remarking that "the narrow limits of his residence show that he had learned to despise the pomp of greatness, and that a small train of servants could suffice him who had lived to the age of thirty a servant himself," the reverend historian adds: "His early habits, and the want of those artificial measures of time which even shepherds now possess, had given him a turn for observing the motions of the heavenly bodies; and, having purchased such an apparatus as could then be procured, he amused and informed himself by those pursuits, with the aid of the

* *Baronage*, I. 343.

Canons of Bolton, some of whom are said to have been well versed in what was then known of the science." Whitaker suspects Lord Clifford, however, "to have been sometimes occupied in a more visionary pursuit, and probably in the same company," from having found among the family evidences two manuscripts on the subject of alchemy, which may almost certainly be referred to the age in which he lived. Among the Thoresby Manuscripts, also, it seems, was a "Treatise of Natural Theology," in old French, on which it was recorded that it had been given to the Priory of Bolton by this Henry Lord Clifford.*

Whitaker speaks familiarly of having seen many charters granted by the Shepherd Lord, but says nothing about his signature. The county historians of Westmoreland and Cumberland mention a charter of his, dated in 1504, in the signature to which the clumsily formed *C* is supposed to be his own, and the remainder (*lyfford*), which is very well written, is evidently the performance of another hand.† It would seem from this that even Dugdale's account rather overrates his lordship's literary attainments.

His descendant, the Countess of Pembroke, describes the Shepherd Lord as "a plain man, who lived for the most part a country life, and came seldom either to Court or London, excepting when called to parliament, on which occasion he behaved himself like a wise and good English nobleman." She adds, that he was never out of England.‡ He was summoned to parliament, it

* *Craven*, 254. † *Nicolson and Burn*, I. 284.

‡ *Memoirs*, as quoted by Whitaker (*Craven*, 254) from "*Appleby MSS.*"

appears, from the first to the twelfth year of Henry VII. (1485 to 1497,) but not after the latter date. He was also, notwithstanding his alleged unwarlike disposition and habits, entrusted with a military command, both in 1495 and again in the war with Scotland in 1514. In that year, when he would be above sixty, he was present at the battle of Flodden. According to Whitaker he there "showed that the military genius of his family had neither been chilled in him by age, nor extinguished by habits of peace." But, although the old metrical History of Flodden Field, in enumerating his followers, styles him "the lusty Clifford," nothing seems to be anywhere recorded in regard to how he acquitted himself in the fight.

The history of the Shepherd Lord, in truth, is mainly a myth, having probably little more than a seed or root of fact, and owing everything else to the "shaping spirit" of the popular imagination, ever prone to turn all history into poetry. So much of it as rests upon anything like evidence is extremely scanty. It appears that his lordship was twice married, and that he had children by both his wives; two sons and five daughters by the first, two or three sons and one daughter by the second. As both were with ladies of rank, his marriages must be presumed to have both taken place after his restoration. His first wife was nearly related to King Henry the Seventh. He had also, it is stated, several illegitimate children.* I do not know what authority Wordsworth and other modern writers have for speaking of him as having come to be

* *Nicolson and Burn*, I. 284.

popularly remembered under the name of *the Good Lord Clifford.* He survived till the 23rd of April 1523, when he would have nearly reached the age of three-score and ten.

One actual utterance only of this nobleman has been given to the world by his historians. It is a letter from him to a member of the Government, which Whitaker has published from a copy preserved in the Appleby manuscript of the Countess of Pembroke's memoirs of her own life and the lives of her ancestors. This epistle is a very curious fragment of the family history. It runs as follows :—

"I doubt not but ye remember when I was afore you with other of the King's Highness's Council, and there I showed unto you the ungodly disposition of my son Henry Clifford, in such wise as it was abominable to hear it; not only disobeying and despiting my commands, and threatening my servants, saying, that, if aught came to me, [that is, if any thing should happen to me,—in other words, if I should be taken away,] he should utterly destroy all, as appeareth more likely in striking with his own hand my poor servant, Henry Popley, in peril of death, which so lieth and is like to die; but also [he] spoiled my houses and feloniously stole away my proper goods, which was of great substance, only of malice and for maintaining his inordinate pride and riot, as more specially did appear when he departed out of the court and come into the country, apparelled himself and his horse in cloth of gold and goldsmith's wark, more like a Duke than a poor Baron's son as he is. And, moreover, I showed unto you at

that time his daily studying how he might utterly destroy me his poor father, as well by slanders shameful and dangerous, as by daily otherwise vexing and inquieting my mind, to the shortening of my poor life. And, notwithstanding the premises, I, by the King's command and your desire, have sithence given unto him £40, and, over that, my blessing upon his good and lawful demeanour, desiring also that he should leave the dangerous and evil council of certain evil-disposed persons, as well young gents as others, which have before this given him dangerous counsel, whose counsels he daily followeth; and when I showed unto the King's Grace and you that if his shameful dispositions were not looked upon, and something promised by his Highness to bring him to dread (as the beginning of all wisdom is to dread God and his Prince), he should be utterly undone for ever, as well bodily as ghostly; as appeareth at large, not only by the increase of his evil dispositions, but also [by his] seeking further to great lords for maintenance, wherein he hath taken more boldness, saying that he shall cast down one of my servants that be nigh unto me, though they be in my presence. And yet, moreover, he in his country maketh debate between gentlemen, and troubleth divers houses of religion to bring from them their tithes, shamefully beating their tenants and servants in such wise as some whole towns are fain to keep the churches both night and day, and dare not come at their own houses." *

Here, surely, whatever may have been the case with the original penmanship, the expression must be his

* *Craven*, 255.

lordship's own. It has all the natural air of one speaking for himself, not putting into words the thoughts and feelings of another. There is a homely earnestness about it not to be counterfeited by a secretary or other such artificial mouthpiece. Nor, homely as it is, and deficient in elegance and even in correctness, is the language that of an entirely uneducated and illiterate person. The irregularities are no greater than characterise the common epistolary style of that time. It is hard to believe that such a letter could be dictated by a person who could neither write nor read.

This son of the Shepherd Lord, of whom his father gives so sad an account, has been conjectured by Whitaker to be the hero of the fine old ballad of *The Nutbrown Maid*, principally on the strength of one expression used therein by the "Man," who is made to speak of Westmoreland as his "heritage." But, besides that he expressly describes himself as an *Earl's* son, (which indeed would not go for much, one way or the other,) Whitaker's notion must be considered to be unanswerably refuted by the fact that the ballad, which was originally published (as far as is known) in the compilation called "Arnold's Chronicle," is found not only in the edition of that book referred to by Whitaker, printed in 1521, but in another which there can hardly be a doubt is of a date about twenty years earlier.* At that date Henry Clifford, born in 1493, was only a

* See "The Customs of London, otherwise called Arnold's Chronicle," [by Dibdin,] 4to, 1811. *Advertisement*, p. xii. Whitaker's conjecture, however, which had been proposed in the first edition of his "History of Craven," published in 1807, is repeated, without any notice of this refutation, in the second edition published in 1812.

boy of nine or ten. It should also not be forgotten that there is, after all, little if anything in the story of the ballad hero which would suit the life and character of Henry Clifford;—he was not really an outlaw or "banished man;" he had merely pretended to be such, as he had previously concealed his true rank, and passed himself off as but "a squire of low degree," the better to test and convince himself of the genuineness and strength of the lady's love.

Wild Henry Clifford succeeded his father in 1523 as the eleventh Baron Clifford. He would be at this date very nearly of the same age that his father was when he came to the title. The two had, no doubt, spent their first thirty years, for the greater part, very differently. The son is believed to have ultimately abandoned his disorderly life; but whether his father had the happiness of seeing his reformation, or any promise or symptom of it, seems to be questionable. They were probably not well suited to go on harmoniously together: with such diversity of early training and experience of the world, to say nothing of original temper and disposition, their notions upon most subjects would be apt to jar; and the son's nature might take a more kindly and wholesome as well as a freer development when left to itself. The Shepherd Lord, with all his good qualities, probably remained in his habits and ideas rather too much of a shepherd after he became a lord. It could hardly be that his mind should ever expand in all respects in full correspondence with his change of position, and that his vision should not retain to the last something of the limitation and

narrowness to which it had so long been habituated. Certainly he would find his son running, or disposed to run, into many courses which his own youth had never been tempted by or dreamed of. After his father's death, if not before, this son, who was through his mother nearly related to King Henry, became a great courtier, and one of his majesty's favourite companions; and in 1525 he was made Earl of Cumberland. He was also decorated with the Garter.

From this date, then, the Cliffords are Earls of Cumberland for several generations. The first Earl died in 1542, having lived not quite fifty years. His son, also named Henry, (that favourite Red Rose baptismal name,) the second Earl, had married in 1537, while he was still Lord Clifford, the Lady Eleanor Brandon, the younger of the two daughters of Charles Brandon Duke of Brandon and Mary the French Queen, sister of King Henry the Eighth.* The expenses in which he involved himself by this high alliance are asserted to have pressed severely upon the resources of the second Earl of Cumberland, and were probably felt even by his descendants. Eleanor Brandon lived only about ten years after her marriage, and had issue only a daughter, who became the wife of the fourth Stanley, Earl of Derby, sending down her royal blood and certain pretensions of her line to the Crown to a posterity which still subsists in several branches.† Five or six years after her death, the Earl re-married Anne daughter of William Dacre, Lord Dacre of the North, and by her he had two sons; the eldest of whom, George, on the

* See *Vol.* II. p. 304. † See *Vol.* III. *Corrections*, p. x.

death of his father in 1569, succeeded as third Earl of Cumberland.

Earl George came to be a very distinguished public character,—an eminent naval commander, and a great voyager to distant parts of the world, as well as a Knight of the Garter, the most accomplished horseman and tilter of his time, and successor to the famous Sir Henry Lee in the singular office of Queen's Champion, with which he was solemnly invested, on the resignation of old Sir Henry, in the year 1568. He married the Lady Margaret Russell, seventh and youngest daughter of Francis second Earl of Bedford. His father having left him only a boy little more than eleven years old, his wardship, that is, the custody of his person and administration of his estates during the remainder of his minority, was granted by the Queen to Bedford, with the view, frankly avowed, that that nobleman, having the entire disposal of him, should marry the young Earl to one of his numerous daughters. He and Lady Margaret were united in June 1577, he being then in his nineteenth, she in her seventeenth year; the Earl's sister, Lady Frances Clifford, being at the same time married to Philip Lord Wharton. The double ceremony was performed in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark; and Queen Elizabeth honoured it with her presence.

Whether Bedford had managed to bring about any feeling of attachment between his ward and his daughter before he got them made husband and wife is not mentioned. The two families were distantly related; and the young people had been brought up a great deal

together, so that they must have been as well known to one another as persons at their age could be. Lady Margaret had lost her mother by small-pox when she was only a year old, and the infant had then been taken charge of by a maternal aunt who resided at Lilford in Northamptonshire, and with whom she remained for seven years. A little before his father's death Cumberland, then Lord Clifford, had been sent to Battel, in Sussex, the house of his mother's sister the Viscountess Montagu, there, as his daughter records, "to be bred up for a while, that so he might see the renowned Queen Elizabeth and her Court, and the city of London, and the southern parts of England:" after the commencement of his wardship, which would be about the time that Lady Margaret also returned to her father's house, he became one of the family of the Earl of Bedford, and continued to move about with the rest from one to another of the Earl's houses at Chenies in Buckinghamshire, at Woburn in Bedfordshire, and at Exeter. He and the Lady Margaret had, no doubt, also been taught from the first to look upon themselves as destined for one another, and they would be reconciled to their fate in as far at least as the long and habitual contemplation of it could produce that effect. Nevertheless, the match which had been so thoughtfully arranged by her Majesty and the old Earl, and which seemed to be recommended by so general a concurrence of circumstances, did not turn out a very happy experiment.

Cumberland's wardship did not terminate till August 1580, when he was two-and-twenty, and had been mar-

ried for more than three years. His daughter speaks of him as having studied both at Oxford and Cambridge. His tutor, she tells us, appointed by the Queen, was the celebrated Dr. John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. "Although," she adds, "he never attained to any great perfection in the Latin tongue, yet he had a general knowledge and an insight into all the arts, and especially into the mathematics, wherein he took great delight, and was so exquisitely versed in the same, that it was thought to be one principal cause of his applying himself to sea voyages and to navigations, especially towards the West Indies and those new-found lands, wherein he became the most knowing and eminent man, of a lord, in his time." This may remind our readers of the account that is given of the academic course and early predilections of the Earl's contemporary, Sir Robert Dudley: * they had the same practical genius, and they also resembled one another both in general disposition and character, and even somewhat in the course of their lives.

Both the Earl and the Countess have been drawn at full length by the pen of their daughter. The fruits of the marriage were this only daughter, named Anne, and two sons, who both died in childhood.

"This Earl George," Lady Anne Clifford writes, "was endowed with many perfections of nature befitting so noble a personage, as an excellent quickness of wit and apprehension, an active and strong body, and an affable disposition and behaviour; but, as good natures, through human frailty, are oftentimes misled, so he

* See *Vol.* III. p. 101.

fell to love a lady of quality, which did by degrees draw and alienate his love and affection from his so virtuous and well-deserving wife, it being the cause of many discontents between them for many years together; so that at the length, for two or three years together before his death, they parted homes, to her extreme grief and sorrow, and also to his extreme sorrow at the time of his death, for he died a very penitent man."*

The "lady of quality," it is to be feared, was far from being his only distraction of that kind; nor were his irregular amours his only extravagance. His daughter goes on to inform us that "he sold much land at Rotherham and Malton to the Earl of Shrewsbury and others, and to Sir Michael Stanupp [Stanhope], so that he consumed more of his estate than ever any of his ancestors did by much, to which his continual building of ships, and his many sea voyages, gave great occasion to these vast expenses of his; and that which did contribute the most to the consuming of his estate was his extreme love to horse-races, tiltings, boating-matches, shooting, and all such expensive sports."†

Nevertheless it is added; "He was much beloved generally in the whole kingdom; so that, when he went his sea voyages, he had persons of great quality, and many of the gentry, that came voluntarily to tender their service to him and to attend him in those voyages."‡ His daughter reckons up about a dozen sea voyages which he made, mostly in his own person, in the reign of Elizabeth; one of them being against

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 98. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*

the Spanish Armada in 1588, when he commanded the *Elizabeth Bonaventure* in the royal fleet. The rest were some of them to the West Indies and Spanish America, others to various parts of the continent of Europe. He was absent upon one of these expeditions when his eldest son, Francis Lord Clifford, died at Skipton Castle early in the month of December 1589; nor, although he had in the mean while reached London, did he return home till some time after his wife had been delivered of their daughter in the end of January following. Before the lapse of eighteen months more, in May 1591, the second boy, named Robert, died at his aunt Lady Warwick's house of North Hall, in Hertfordshire, while the Earl was again absent cruising on the coast of Spain.

Lady Anne, the reader sees, speaks of her father not only with the gentleness and forbearance becoming a daughter, but even with a warm and generous recognition of his good qualities; and yet, as will presently appear, she had her own particular wrongs received at his hands to remember as well as her mother had hers. Her mother, however, is the great object of Lady Anne's filial affection and admiration. "This Margaret Russell Countess of Cumberland," she writes in one of several passages in which she dilates upon that theme, "was endowed with many perfections of mind and body. She was naturally of an high spirit, though she tempered it well by grace. Having a very well-favoured face, with sweet and quick grey eyes, and of a comely personage [person], she was of a graceful behaviour, which she increased the more by her being

civil and courteous to all sorts of people. She had a discerning spirit both into the disposition of human creatures and natural causes, and into the affairs of the world. She had a great sharp natural wit, so as there were few worthy knowledges but she had some insight into them; for, though she had no language but her own, yet was there few books of worth translated into English but she read them, whereby that excellent mind of hers was much enriched, which even by nature was endowed with the seeds of the four moral virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance. She was a lover of the study and practice of alchemy [chemistry], by which she found out excellent medicines, and did much good to many. She delighted in distilling of waters and other chemical extractions; for she had some knowledge in most kind of minerals, herbs, flowers, and plants. She was dearly beloved by those of her friends and acquaintance that had excellent wits and were worthy and good folks; so as towards her latter end she would often say that the kindness of her friends towards her had been one of the most comfortable parts of her life. . . . And certainly this noble Countess had in her the infusion from above of many excellent knowledges and virtues, both divine and human, which did bridle and keep under that great spirit of hers, and caused her to have the sweet peace of an heavenly and quiet mind in the midst of all her griefs and troubles, which were many." *

For the first eight years of her marriage the Countess resided mostly at Skipton Castle. Probably even then

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, pp. 107, 108.

she had but little of the company of her husband. For five or six years she was in ill health; "but after this tedious time of sickness and discontent was past," says her daughter, "it pleased God to bless this virtuous Margaret Countess of Cumberland with extreme love and affection of her husband, which lasted about nine or ten years towards her, and but little more."* They had been married about fourteen years before their first child was born; and by the time that their third and last came into the world, some five or six years later, the Earl's fit of conjugal love and affection was apparently pretty well over. Their daughter, who is extremely precise in her chronology, and is fond of assigning time and place to every thing, chooses to commence her own history some time before her birth; and from what she states it may be inferred that her father and mother were not then in the habit of meeting very often.

She, the third and last child, was born at Skipton on the 30th of January 1590, in the absence of her father, as has been already mentioned. He had set out on an expedition to the coast of Spain in the beginning of the preceding May, from which, what with the dangers he encountered by storms at sea and fighting on land, his daughter tells us, he with difficulty got back with his life. Although he had returned to England in December, he did not come down to the north till the end of March, by which he escaped not only the death of his son, but also both the birth and the christening of his daughter. The latter ceremony took place on the 22nd of February.

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, pp. 107, 108.

She was named, no doubt, after her mother's sister, Anne Countess of Warwick, the wife, now indeed the widow,—for her husband had died the day before,—of Leicester's elder brother Ambrose Dudley, a chief favourite of Queen Elizabeth's, and one of the most generally beloved women of her time. Lady Warwick was the senior by thirteen years of the Countess of Cumberland; but the strongest affection subsisted between the two sisters. Lady Cumberland's second boy was born at her sister's house of North Hall, and also died there. Lady Warwick herself had no children.

The Earl remained only three or four days in Yorkshire, and then returned to London, carrying his wife and two children along with him. It was the last time that the Countess was ever to cross the threshold of Skipton Castle, although she lived for many years longer, and even returned to the north and spent her last days there.

From the time of her brother's death, when she was only about a year and a half old, the Lady Anne Clifford, the only child of her noble parents, and the only one they were ever likely to have, would be regarded as a little lady of no little importance. Referring to a period immediately preceding the death of Elizabeth, she herself in one of her Diaries observes: "At that time there was as much hope and expectation of me, both for my person and my fortunes, as of any other young lady whatsoever."* She was already familiar with the Court, to which she had been early introduced by her aunt of Warwick; and if Elizabeth

* *Seward's Anecdotes*, I. 213.

had lived for a few years longer she would have been appointed of the Privy Chamber. When King James came up from Scotland she went with her mother and her aunt to meet him at Theobalds. "We all saw," she writes, "a great change between the fashion of the Court as it was now and of that in the Queen's [time], for we were all lousy by sitting in Sir Thomas Erskine's chamber." At this time her mother and she resided in a house belonging to her father on Clerkenwell Green. "My father," she says, "used to come sometimes to us at Clerkenwell, but not often; for he had at this time as it were wholly left my mother: yet the house was kept still at his charge." * In the end of June their Majesties were entertained with royal magnificence by Cumberland at his house of Grafton, in Northamptonshire. "At this time of the King's being at Grafton," says Lady Anne, "my mother was there, but not held as mistress of the house, by reason of the difference between my lord and her, which was grown to a great height." † Both the Earl and the Countess attended in their robes at the Coronation on the 25th of July. A subsequent entry mentions the strange circumstance of the husband and wife being engaged at the same time in prosecuting certain separate suits or applications to his Majesty at Woodstock; "so that sometimes," says their daughter, "my mother and he did meet by chance, where their countenance did show the dislike they had one of the other: yet he would speak to me in a slight fashion, and give me his blessing." ‡

* *Seward*, I. 219. † *Id.* p. 222. ‡ *Id.* p. 228.

This juvenile Diary records also a few particulars more especially relating to the writer herself. Part of her childhood, she has told us elsewhere, was spent where her mother had passed her earliest years, at Lilford, in Northamptonshire, "which caused," she remarks, "that mother and daughter ever after to love a country life the better, they being both there seasoned with the grounds of goodness and religion."* Afterwards she was brought up mostly in London and the south of England.† In the spring of 1603 her uncle and aunt, the Earl and Countess of Bath, came to London, and brought with them Lord Fitzwarren, their eldest son, and their daughter Lady Frances Bourchier, "whom," says Lady Anne, "I met at Bagshot, where I lay all night with my cousin Frances Bourchier and Mrs. Mary Cary, which was the first beginnings of the greatness between us."‡ She speedily "grew more inward," as she expresses it, with these two young ladies. As soon as their new Majesties arrived at Windsor, "there was," she tells us, "such an infinite number of ladies sworn of the Queen's Privy Chamber, as made the place of no esteem or credit." "Once," she subjoins, "I spake to my Lady of Bedford to be one, but had the good fortune to miss it." "A little afore this time," a subsequent entry runs, "my mother and I, my aunt of Bath, and my cousin Frances, went to North Hall (my mother being extremely angry with me for riding before with Mr. Meverell), where my mother in her anger commanded that I should lie in a chamber alone, which I could not endure; but my

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 106. † *Id.*, 120. ‡ *Seward*, I. 224.

cousin Frances got the key of my chamber, and lay with me, which was the first time I loved her so very well. The next day Mr. Meverell as he went abroad fell down suddenly and died, so as most thought it was of the plague, which was then very rife. It put us all in great fear and amazement."* After the feast of St. George their Majesties and the royal household had removed from Windsor to Hampton Court; and there Lady Anne and her mother lay in one of the round towers, all about which the attendants upon the Court were lodged in tents, where they died of the plague at the rate of two or three a day. Lady Anne herself was attacked by fever, and became so alarmingly ill that her mother was afraid it might turn out to be the plague. The husband of her governess, Mrs. Taylor, was soon after carried off by that terrible disease.†

Her mother would not allow her to see the "solemn sight" of the coronation, because the plague was then so bad in London. So she remained at her cousin Studall's at Norbury, "where," she says, "my cousin did so feed me with breakfasts and pear pies, and such things, as shortly after I fell into . . . sickness."‡ Some time after this, it is in like manner recorded, she "kept so ill a diet with Mrs. Mary Cary and Mrs. Hinson in eating fruit," at Barton, as to be again made seriously unwell.§ Another notice chronicles a journey to a place called Green's Norton, which they reached about the then disorderly hour of ten o'clock at night; "and I was so weary," our diarist naïvely adds, "as I could not tell whether I should sleep or eat first."‖

* *Seward*, I. 225. † *Id.* 224. ‡ *Id.* 225. § *Id.* 228. ‖ *Id.* 224.

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After Michaelmas she returned to North Hall. "I used," she says, speaking of her residence there, "to wear my hair-coloured velvet gown every day, and learned to sing and play on the bass viol of Jack Jenkins, my aunt's boy."* And again;—"All this time we were merry at North Hall. My cousin Frances Bourchier and my cousin Francis Russell and I did use to walk much in the garden, and were great one with the other."†

* *Seward*, I. 229.

† *Id.* 230. The Diary of Anne Clifford for the year 1603, from which these extracts are taken, is printed in the first volume (pp. 214-230) of "Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, chiefly of the Present and two Preceding Centuries." (By Mr. Seward.) 4th edition, 4 vols. 8vo., 1798. Mr. Seward gives no indication of where the MS. exists, or of how the Diary came into his hands. He merely says, "The following memoirs of the early part of her life have a claim to our curiosity, as having been written by her, and as exhibiting a very striking picture of the simplicity of the manners of the times in which she lived, and displaying the *naïveté* of her own character. They are now printed for the first time." The Diary is probably one of those which various accounts speak of in general terms as existing at Skipton or Appleby. From some expressions in it, it would rather seem to have been written not at the time, but from recollection, perhaps two or three years after. Or possibly it may even be of a much later date. Although the writer confines herself for the most part to personal and domestic matters, there are a few notices of a more public character. For example:—"Thither (to Lady Needham's) came my Lady of Bedford, who was then so great a woman with the Queen (Anne), as every body much respected her, she having attended the Queen from out of Scotland." (p. 221.) "Now was my Lady Rich grown great with the Queen, insomuch as my Lady of Bedford was something out with her; and when she came to Hampton Court was entertained but even indifferently, and yet continued to be of the bedchamber." (p. 226.) "Now there was much talk of a masque which the Queen had at Winchester, and how all the ladies about the Court had gotten such ill names, that it was grown a scandalous place; and the Queen herself was much fallen from her former greatness and reputation she had in the world." This is hardly, perhaps, the pen of a girl of thirteen. It will be observed, also, that the whole is written in the past tense.

But an important change in Lady Anne's position and circumstances was soon to take place. "The 1st of September in 1605," she has elsewhere recorded, "was the last time I ever saw my father in the air abroad; and then I took my leave of him on Greenwich Heath, in Kent, as he brought me so far on my way toward Sutton, in Kent, where my mother then lay, after I had been and stayed the space of a month in the old house at Grafton, in Northamptonshire, where my father then lived by reason of some unhappy unkindnesses towards my mother, and where he entertained King James and Queen Anne with great magnificence, which was a time of great sorrow to my saintlike mother, till I returned back again to her from my father the said 1st day of September."* Within two months from this date the Earl was no more. He expired on the 30th of October, in the Savoy, London; the same Duchy House, or Palace of the Dukedom of Lancaster, in which another of the most distinguished military personages of the time, Charles Montjoy Earl of Devonshire, whose remarkable story has been related in a former volume, was also to draw his last breath about six months after.† Devonshire was in his forty-third year; Cumberland was in his forty-eighth. Perhaps the one as well as the other died mainly of mental weariness and mortification, or of what is figuratively called a broken heart. According to his daughter, however, Cumberland's disease was a bloody flux, supposed to be occasioned by his many wounds. He had been very ill for a month.‡

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 121.

† See *Vol.* I. p. 282.

‡ *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 99.

Notwithstanding all, his wife and daughter were both with him at the last. And the latter, whom we have already found speaking of his death-bed penitence, testifies that he died "very patiently and willingly."

He left the world, nevertheless, without repairing, although it must, apparently, have been in his power to do so, a grievous injury which he had done his child. By a will and other requisite deeds he had, probably some years before, arranged that all his lands should go along with the Earldom to his brother, and should only on failure of his brother's heirs male return to his daughter, to whom all that he bequeathed beyond this possible reversion was fifteen thousand pounds in money. This he had done, as his daughter states without any asperity, "for the preservation of his name and house;"* or, as she puts it in another place, "for the love he bore to his brother, and the advancement of the heirs male of his house."† He may perhaps, with the notions then prevalent, have persuaded himself that it was his duty to make such a disposition of his property; but he would probably have taken a different view of the case if his family pride had not been stronger than his love for his daughter. A few hours before he died, however, he expressed to her and her mother, and to the other persons who were present, his conviction that the male line of his brother would ere long come to an end, and that his daughter would yet inherit every thing.‡

Writing nearly half a century after all this, that daughter thus describes herself as she was at her outset

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 99. † *Id.*, p. 121. ‡ *Id.*, p. 99.

in life:—"I was very happy in my first constitution both in mind and body, both for internal and external endowments; for never was there child more equally resembling both father and mother than myself. The colour of mine eyes were black, like my father; and the form and aspect of them was quick and lively, like my mother's. The hair of my head was brown and very thick, and so long that it reached to the calf of my legs when I stood upright; with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple in my chin, like my father; full cheeks and round face, like my mother; and an exquisite shape of body, resembling my father. But now time and age hath long since ended all these beauties, which are to be compared to the grass of the field; for now, when I caused these memorables of myself to be written, I have passed the sixty-third year of my age. And, though I say it, the perfections of my mind were much above those of my body. I had a strong and copious memory, a sound judgment, and a discerning spirit, and so much of a strong imagination in me as that many times even my dreams and apprehensions beforehand proved to be true; so as old Mr. John Denham, a great astronomer, that some time lived in my father's house, would often say that I had much in me in nature to show that the sweet influences of the Pleiades and the bands of Orion, mentioned in the 38th chapter of Job, were powerful both in my conception and nativity."*

Her mother, moreover, she elsewhere tells us, had educated her with singular care and affection; "seasoning her youth with the grounds of true religion and

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 120.

moral virtue, and all other qualities befitting her birth." The young lady's principal tutor was Samuel Daniel, the well-known poet. Her father would not permit her to be taught any foreign tongue; "but for all other knowledge fit for her sex none was bred up to greater perfection than herself."* Though the Countess was little more than five-and-forty when she lost her husband, and "had," her daughter assures us, "many honourable and rich offers of matches made to her," she could not be induced to marry again: "her mind was too much set upon heavenly devotion."†

"This Margaret Russell Countess of Cumberland," she writes in another place, "was truly religious, devout, and conscientious, even from her very childhood; and did spend much time in reading the Scriptures and other good books, and in heavenly meditations, and in prayers, fastings, and deeds of charity, especially for some fourteen or fifteen years before her death. And of such an elevated mind was she to all goodness, as any may truly say she had a kind of a prophetic spirit in her in many things; and, in particular, she would often tell her only daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford, that the ancient lands of her father's inheritance would at last come to be hers, what opposition soever was made to hinder it, though it would be very long first. . . . . And she was the rather induced to believe it by reason of a strange kind of divining dream, or vision, that appeared to her in a fearful manner in Barden Tower in Craven, when she was great with child of her third child, which told her she should be delivered a little

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 114. † *Id.*, 113.

while after of a daughter, which should be the only child to her parents, and live to inherit the ancient lands of her father's ancestors." At this time, it will be remembered, both her sons were living; but the elder died a month after, and the other followed within a year and a half. "Which strange vision," her daughter adds, "we are the rather inclined to set down, because undoubtedly whilst she lived here in the world her spirit had more converse with heaven and heavenly contemplations than with terrene and earthly matters."*

The Countess, however, did not regard as altogether an earthly matter the birthright of her daughter. The recovery of the lands to which she believed the young lady to be thereby entitled notwithstanding the late Earl's will became almost from the first moment of her widowhood the main object of her anxieties and exertions, and continued to engross her so long as she lived. She had much more to sustain her in the determination with which she pursued it than her dream which has just been related.

But first it may be noticed that, whatever might be the legal destination of the Earl's lands, his daughter was certainly at any rate the true heir to the ancient Barony of Clifford, which, like baronies created by writ generally, was inheritable by females as well as by males. According to the uniform tenor of the decisions in such cases, she was now Baroness Clifford. It would appear, however, that this was not thought of at first; it was not till the year 1628 that that claim was

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 110.

advanced; it was then laid before the House of Peers, and was appointed to be taken into consideration in the following session of parliament; but no further proceedings took place in regard to it—prevented first by the cessation of parliaments altogether for a dozen years, and afterwards by the Rebellion and the overthrow both of the Peerage and of the Monarchy. Anne Clifford to the end of her days regarded herself as by birth not only Baroness Clifford, but Baroness de Vesci also, not aware of the singular limitation in the writ of summons which originated the latter honour.*

But with regard to the lands it would seem to have been very soon discovered that the late Earl had not legally possessed the power of alienating them as he had done, or attempted to do. An entail, executed so far back as in the reign of Edward the Second, tied up his hands. Its existence had of course been unknown to him when he made the disposition in favour of his brother; otherwise he could, and no doubt would, have docked it by the usual process of what is called suffering a fine and recovery. But that made no difference; the entail, not having been so nullified, remained operative. And upon this legal plea the Countess and her daughter took their stand.

It was probably thought by many persons at the time to be one in which there was more law than equity. King James, in particular, was strongly opposed to the claim founded upon it, although his Queen, it is said, took part, less openly it is to be presumed, with the niece against the uncle.

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 96.

Meanwhile, in July 1607, the mother and daughter, having continued to reside in London ever since the death of the Earl, made a short visit to the North, and spent about a couple of months partly in Appleby Castle, which the Countess possessed as her jointure under a special Act of Parliament, partly at Brougham Castle, then occupied by Lord Wharton. On their way back to town in the beginning of October, coming to Skipton Castle, which had been taken possession of by the new Earl with all the rest of the family property, they in vain applied for admittance to have another look at the Countess's old home, from which she and her new-born infant had been carried away so abruptly more than seventeen years before, and with so little thought that she was never to be within its walls again; the servants who had charge of the place would not suffer them even to enter the gate, but shut it against them "in an uncivil and disdainful manner." "So great," concludes the daughter, in her relation of the incident, "the unkindnesses then were between the said Countess and her brother-in-law." *

Returning to town, the two resumed their abode in the house in Austin Friars, and the Dowager Countess spent the remainder of her days between that London residence and Appleby Castle, prolonging her period of retreat in the country, probably, more and more as old age stole upon her. But she had the happiness of seeing both her daughter a wife, and herself a grandmother, before she quitted the stage. On the 25th of February, 1609, when she was yet only

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 113.

nineteen, Anne Clifford was married, in her mother's chamber in the Austin Friars house, and in her presence, to Richard Lord Buckhurst, eldest son of Robert Sackville second Earl of Dorset. The bridegroom's age exceeded that of the bride by only about ten months. Two days after the marriage, Buckhurst's father died, and the newly wedded pair became Earl and Countess of Dorset. Her ladyship has carefully noted that in the circumstance of her marriage-bed having been unproductive for several years, as in various other peculiarities, she resembled her mother. But at length, on the 2nd of July 1614, she gave birth at Dorset House, in Salisbury Square, London, to a daughter. Her mother had come up from Appleby Castle on purpose, but after all was not present at the delivery, having gone to visit some friends in the Tower, and got shut up there for the night by staying beyond the regular hour. This was the last visit of the old Countess to the capital, and the last time she left her quiet nest among the mountains of the north. She appears now, however, to have transferred her residence from the Castle of Appleby to that of Brougham.

By this time the cause between the daughter of the late Earl of Cumberland and his brother was ready for being brought into court, and there fought out with all the artillery and tactics of the law. Lady Dorset in her Memoirs speaks of the great trial for the lands in Craven as having taken place in the Common Pleas in Westminster Hall on the 16th of June 1615; but it would appear that no decision was then pronounced.

It was agreed, between Earl Francis and his son on the one side and Lord Dorset on the other, to refer the matter to the arbitration of the Lord Chancellor and the three Chief Justices. Both Lady Dorset, however, and her mother, as the former assures us, absolutely refused their concurrence. Yet it appears to have been the firmness of the old lady that prevented her daughter from yielding. Lady Dorset, as she tells us, went down to Brougham Castle expressly to ask her mother to give her consent to the reference. But she found her immoveable.* This was in the spring of 1616; the mother and daughter met on the 6th of March; and they parted, as it proved never to meet again, on the 2nd of April. It was about noon, and at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the Castle, in the open air, that "they took their last leave one of another with many tears and much grief." † Many years afterwards the tenacious affection of the daughter had a pillar of memorial erected on the unforgotten spot, the remains of which still mark it on the road from Appleby to Penrith. The pillar, besides an inscription commemorating the occasion of its erection, was decorated with her ladyship's armorial bearings, and a sun-dial; and at its base was a stone table, from which a small sum of money was directed to be annually distributed to the poor of the parish of Brougham every 2nd of April. It continues to be known by the name of *The Countess Pillar*.

The Countess of Cumberland survived this parting with her daughter only a few weeks. She closed her

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 125. † *Id.*, p. 116.

eyes in death at Brougham Castle—in the same chamber in which her husband had first opened his to the light—the 24th of the following month of May. She had survived her husband about eleven years, but, although a grandmother, she was not an old woman, not quite fifty-six. She is asserted to have retained to the last her conviction that right would yet triumph over might in the great contest about the lands. If her faith was ever for a moment shaken, it was only for a moment: "A little before her death," we are told, "when she was in some doubt and fear that, through strength of power, her daughter's ancient inheritance might be wrested from her, she would often say, to comfort her heart, 'The earth is the Lord's and all that therein is.'" *

Upon the death of the Countess Dowager, Brougham Castle too was seized by the present Earl. Soon after, notwithstanding the refusal of Lady Dorset, animated and nerved against the power of either persuasion or threats by the spirit of her dead mother, to concur in any kind of reference or arbitration, King James

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 108. "The letters of this lady," says Pennant (*Tour in Scotland*, 1772; Part II. p. 356), "are extant in manuscript, and also her Diary. She unfortunately marries without liking, and meets with the same return. She mentions several minutiæ that I omit, being only proofs of her great attention to accuracy. She complains greatly of the coolness of her lord, and his neglect of his daughter, Anne Clifford; and endured great poverty, of which she writes in a most moving strain to James I., to several great persons, and to the Earl himself. All her letters are humble, suppliant, and pathetic; yet the Earl was said to have parted with her on account of her high spirit." In a note Pennant adds, "These and several other anecdotes of the family I found in certain manuscript letters and diaries of the Countess and her daughter." Where he found the manuscripts he does not say.

had made an award appointing Earl Francis to retain possession of the estates, paying to the Earl and Countess of Dorset a sum of twenty thousand pounds; and this arrangement was sanctioned and confirmed by decree of the Court of Chancery. Yet still Lady Dorset held out. Apparently she must have got her husband for a time to go along with her; for on the 19th of September 1616 the case, it is stated, was again brought into court, at York, before Edmund Lord Sheffield (afterwards Earl of Mulgrave), President of the North. It seems to have been again decided in favour of her uncle. Still her acquiescence, or at any rate, that of her husband, would appear to have been necessary to give full effect to the decision. So, soon after, she was summoned to the royal presence on two different days, the 18th and 20th of January 1617, and urged by James to bind herself to make no further resistance. Still she stood firm. But on the 14th of March the Earl of Dorset was prevailed upon to sign the award; and this seems to have put an end to the contest for the present.

It also, however, nearly put an end to all harmony and comfort between the husband and wife. They never actually parted, but, though they continued to live under the same roof, both in London and at Knowle, the magnificent seat of the Sackville family in Kent, they had probably for some years as little almost of each other's society as if they had been more openly and formally separated. The Earl, a man of pleasure, like most of his race, was at no loss for consolation elsewhere. His life, however, was but a short one; he

died in March 1624, in his thirty-fifth year, leaving by his wife only two daughters, the second born in 1622, so that he was succeeded in his peerage by his younger brother, Edward, the same who fought the duel with Lord Bruce. Lady Dorset paints her brother-in-law in the blackest colours; she describes him as having been, while her husband lived, a main cause of the alienation between them, and as continuing to be, after his brother's death, her worst enemy. Of her husband himself she speaks not unkindly; dwelling on his shining talents and accomplishments, and only lamenting the thoughtless prodigality with which he squandered the plentiful bounty of nature and fortune.

She was only four-and-thirty when she thus became once more her own mistress; but an attack of small-pox (she and her eldest daughter had the disease together) so martyred her face, she tells us, that she determined never to marry again. The principal use which she seems to have contemplated making of her liberty and independence was to renew the attempt to recover her paternal inheritance: accordingly in August 1628, as she notes, she recommenced proceedings with the object of still getting the late King's award set aside. It was in this year also, as has been already mentioned, that she formally made her claim to the Barony of Clifford. But, her marred or martyred face notwithstanding, love, or what called itself and passed for such, made a way for itself even through the thick of these high and serious matters. On the 21st of April 1629 her eldest daughter, not yet quite fifteen, was married to John Tufton Lord Tufton, eldest son of the

first Earl of Thanet; and on the 3rd of June in the following year, in the church of Chenies in Buckinghamshire, the mother gave her hand to Philip Herbert Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, "he being then," as she observes, "one of the greatest subjects in the kingdom." She had lived a widow, according to her own careful reckoning, just six years, two months, and four or five days. Pembroke, too, had been married before; his first wife, originally Lady Susan Vere, a daughter of the Earl of Oxford, had been dead about sixteen months. Having been previously Earl of Montgomery, which he had been made by the late King, he had succeeded to the old family Earldom of Pembroke on the death of his elder brother only about two months ago.

Perhaps, after all, this match was on both sides one of ambition quite as much as of love. The Dowager Countess of Dorset, what with her jointure and her pretensions and expectations together, was no unpromising speculation for any man wanting to make a provident marriage, as is very likely to have been the case with Philip Herbert, whose extravagance kept him constantly in difficulties, for all the large revenues that he enjoyed from the double source of the royal bounty to himself and his brother's inheritance, and would have done so no less, perhaps still more, if his income had been twice as large—for with such natures, more insatiable than a sieve, receipt only feeds and infuriates the mania of expense. He, on the other hand, the favourite of the reigning King as he had been of the late one,—as she herself describes him, "one of the

greatest subjects in the kingdom,"—was just the ally whom Lady Dorset might expect to find most useful in carrying on her contest, backed as her adversaries had hitherto been by all the power and influence of the Crown. The course of ambition rarely runs smooth any more than that of true love; and much malice, it seems, exerted its ingenuity, though in vain, to hinder this marriage.

But her second matrimonial experiment, entered upon of her own free will, and when she was of mature age and ought to have well known what she was about, proved to Anne Clifford a still greater failure than her first, in which she may be supposed to have been much more in the hands of others. In the autumn of 1632 the litigation with her uncle was resumed, apparently with the concurrence of her new husband. But Pembroke probably soon got tired of the tedious and hopeless-looking, or at best very doubtful, contest. They quarrelled both about this and other matters. At last they actually separated. On the 18th of December 1634 she left the Earl's lodgings in Whitehall, as she mildly states the matter in her autobiographical memoir, "by reason of some discontents," and took up her residence in his city house of Baynard's Castle.* He had in fact commanded and compelled her to go.† A few months afterwards an arrangement was made by which (on the 5th of June 1635) she

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 130.

† On the 14th of January, 1638, writing to her uncle, the Earl of Bedford, from a place in the country called Ramossbury, after telling him that she had been so ill that she thought she would have died, she proceeds: "And now, my Lord, give me leave to desire that favour from your Lordship, as to speak earnestly to my Lord for my coming up

obtained what she calls a jointure from Pembroke.* Perhaps she means an annual allowance for her present maintenance. After some time, however, they seem to have come together again. But it would not do; new differences soon arose. The Earl urged a marriage between his younger son and his wife's second daughter; to this the Countess obstinately refused her consent; she had, we may suppose, come to think by this time that the blood of the Cliffords and that of the Herberts did not mingle particularly well. So it ended in her retiring, in October 1642, once more to Baynard's Castle; where she continued to reside alone from that date for more than six years. She and her husband, however, seem still to have met occasionally. On the 3rd of June 1649 she took, she tells us, her last leave of him in his lodgings at the Cockpit.† He died on the 23rd of January in the year following.

Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery makes but a sorry figure in our common histories. Some attempts, however, have been made by recent writers to rescue him from a portion of the obloquy and contempt that have been heaped upon him by the royalist party, which he deserted, and that the other side, to which he

to town this term, either to Bernard's Castle or the Cockpit. And I protest I will be ready to return back hither again whensoever my Lord appoints it. I have to this purpose written now to my Lord," &c. And in a postscript, after expressing her hope that, if his Lordship should refuse to allow her to come up, she may be told as soon as possible, she adds, "For I dare not venture to come up without his leave, lest he should take that occasion to turn me out of this house, as he did out of Whitehall, and then I shall not know where to put my head. I desire not to stay in the term above ten days or a fortnight at the most."—*Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, by Park*, III. 172 (from *Harl. MS.* 7001).

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 130.

† *Id.*, p. 131.

went over in his last days, although it had the field to itself for ten years after his death, seems hardly to have cared enough about him to leave us the necessary information for appreciating at its proper value. There is reason to believe that he was not without some good qualities, and that several points have been considerably exaggerated by his royalist detractors. His widow's account of him is probably pretty near the truth. She admits that he was "no scholar at all to speak of;" "yet," she adds, "he was of a very quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, very crafty withal, and of a discerning spirit, but extremely choleric by nature, which was increased the more by the office of Lord Chamberlain to the King, which he held many years." And she winds up her evidently dispassionate and impartial estimate by declaring that "he was one of the greatest noblemen of his time in England in all respects, and was generally throughout the realm very well beloved."† This accords with the expression employed by Shakespeare's friends, Heming and Condell, who, in dedicating to the Earls of Pembroke and of Montgomery the first folio edition of his Plays in 1623, style them an "incomparable pair of brethren," and speak of both as being equally patrons of the poet and readers and admirers of his works.

But some years before she thus attained her second widowhood, the course of events had brought about a revolution for the daughter of the house of Clifford which she probably regarded as much more important than either the loss or the acquisition of any husband.

† *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 132.

Francis fourth Earl of Cumberland, when he succeeded his brother in 1605, had a family of one son and two daughters. The elder daughter, Margaret, became the first wife of Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards the great Earl of Strafford; the second, Frances, married Sir Gervase Clifton, the same whose first wife was a daughter of Lord Rich.* Earl Francis lived to a great age: his niece reckons that he held the Earldom thirty-five years and three months, all but ten days. He died on the 21st of January 1641, in his eighty-third year. In all his long life he had never been out of England. His just and generous niece, although they had been at law and at war for so many years, and she believed him to have all that while kept her out of her birthright, is above allowing the difference that had divided them to distort his portrait. "This Earl Francis," she writes, "was an honourable gentleman, and of a good, noble, sweet, and courteous nature." † For twenty years before he died, however, she affirms, his son Henry Lord Clifford absolutely governed both the old man and his estate. Henry when he succeeded to the Earldom had nearly reached the age of fifty, and had been a married man for more than thirty years. His wife was the Lady Frances Cecil, daughter of the Lord High Treasurer the Earl of Salisbury; and the marriage, if we may believe his cousin, was made on the side of Lord Clifford and his father "purposely to maintain those suits of law more powerfully which they then had against the Lady Margaret Russell Countess Dowager of Cumberland and

* See *Vol.* I. p. 332.

† *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 102.

her only child, the Lady Anne Clifford, then Countess of Dorset," *—or, as she elsewhere expresses it, that by the power and greatness of the Earl of Salisbury "the lands of mine inheritance might be worsted [wrested?] and kept by strong hand from me." † The marriage produced five children, three sons and two daughters; but they all died young, with the exception only of the eldest daughter Elizabeth, who became the wife of Richard Lord Dungarvan, afterwards the second Earl of Cork.‡ "This Henry Lord Clifford Earl of Cumberland," says his cousin the memoirist, "was endowed with a good natural wit; he was also withal a proper man, a good courtier, a brave horseman, and an excellent huntsman, and had good skill in architecture and the mathematics." § On the breaking out of the war between the King and the Parliament, not much more than a twelvemonth after he had come to the title, Earl Henry was, at the general request of the royalist gentlemen of the North, appointed to the supreme military command of that part of the country, likely to be in the first instance the chief seat of the war. Clarendon describes him as a man of great honour and integrity, and very popular both with the gentry and the common people; but "not in any degree active or of a martial temper, and rather a man more like not to have any enemies than to oblige any to be firmly and resolutely his friends, or to pursue his interest." || Afterwards he speaks of him as having become much decayed in the

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 103. † *Id.* 124.

‡ See *ante*, p. 43. § *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 103.

|| *History, Book* V. Clarendon adds:—"The great fortune of the family was divided, and the greater part of it carried away by an heir female;

vigour both of his body and his mind.* The Earl was left behind at York when the King quitted that place previous to setting up his standard at Nottingham, in August 1642; and he died there, in the house of one of the prebends, in the beginning of December of the year following. In the same house his widow sunk under a dropsy, from which she had long been suffering, about two months after. "She was a lady," writes her husband's cousin, "of a noble and just mind; very bountiful, to her power; and kind and loving to her friends and kindred." † Here, then, was the Clifford inheritance, after the lapse of eight-and-thirty years, brought back again to the old line by the simple operation of that testamentary disposition of the third Earl by which his only child had been so long kept out of it. The Earldom of Cumberland was, of course, extinct.

Thus died out ingloriously, at the very opening of the new Civil War, the far-descended martial line which had been so singularly saved from the devastation of the last one. Six generations of them had flourished and faded in the space of somewhat above a century and a half that had elapsed since the restoration of the Shepherd Lord. It was pretty evident that they were no longer what they had been, and that it was about time for them to come to an end. They had had, like other dogs, their day; *fuit Ilium, et ingens gloria*

and his father had so wasted the remainder, that the Earl could not live with that lustre, nor draw so great a dependence upon him, as his ancestors had done." The second statement in this sentence is perhaps as mistaken as the first.

* *History*, Book VIII. † *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 104.

Teucrorum. While poor Earl Henry lay stretched on his bed in the clerical residence at York, dying by the side of his dying wife, his chief baronial mansion of Skipton was occupied by a military force, holding it as a garrison for the King. The Earl's body, however, was carried thither to be deposited with his ancestors. Whitaker makes the funeral to have taken place amid the roar of artillery; but it does not appear that the castle was then besieged. It is said, however, that there was found just room enough in the family vault at Skipton Church to admit the coffin of this last male Clifford.

The legal master of the Clifford estates was now, then, in right of his wife, Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. This probably saved them from confiscation by the Parliament. It has been generally assumed that Anne Clifford's royalism was of a particularly extreme and impassioned character; but the authentic evidence that has come down to us hardly bears out such a notion. Judging from the language of the Memoirs written from her own dictation, or at least under her inspection, one would rather infer that she was a person of very moderate politics. In relating something upon one occasion about Charles the First, all the length that she goes is to describe him as the King "who was afterwards unfortunately beheaded." * Nor is there probably any warmer expression of feeling than this to be found in any part of the manuscript. That she held the monarchical principles which had always been those of her family may be admitted; she

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 186.

continued also steady in her adherence throughout the worst times to the Church of England; but there were many things which made it natural that she should be no violent or enthusiastic partisan of the Stuarts. King James, the potent adversary of her mother and herself, under whose award she had been for so long deprived of what she believed to be her birthright, she must have been accustomed from her earliest years to regard as an unjust judge and an oppressor. Any ultra-royalism that the Cliffords were henceforth to manifest was to be looked for rather from her uncle and his son than from her; they continued to stand high in favour at Court both throughout the reign of James and in that of his successor; a state of matters likely to keep her royalist zeal at rather a low temperature. And now when, first by the decease of her cousin in middle life without male issue, and soon after by her husband going over to and making his peace with the ascendant faction, circumstances had concurred in so remarkable a way to put her in quiet possession of her ancestral inheritance, she had certainly too much prudence and good sense to throw away her advantages, and expose herself to the risk of losing what, after so protracted an expectation, she had at last within her grasp, by any gratuitous assumption of a new political character, any sudden breaking away from the somewhat subdued line of political profession and demeanour natural and becoming to her in her position, both as the competitor for the estates with their late owner and as the wife of Philip Herbert.

The war appears to have prevented Lady Pembroke

for some years from even going to look once more upon those broad domains of her ancestors which were now her own. In July 1647 her youngest daughter Isabella was withdrawn from being any longer a bone of contention between her and her husband, by being disposed of in marriage to James Compton third Earl of Northampton. The mother of the bride was not present at the wedding, according to her own account, "for many reasons," which, however, she does not specify. Immediately after taking her leave of her husband, as already mentioned, in the beginning of June 1649, she proceeded to visit her daughter Northampton at Islington,—as she tells us, for the first and last time. Yet Lady Northampton lived a dozen years after this. These two acts of conjugal and maternal affection performed, she prepared for a journey to the North. Leaving London on the 11th of July she reached Skipton on the 18th. It was the first time she had entered the Castle since she was carried away from it an infant about two months old, more than fifty-nine years ago. It had been dismantled, or slighted as the phrase then was, and was no longer inhabitable; so that the Countess was obliged for the present to take up her abode at Appleby. There she still was when on Sunday the 27th of January in the following year, as she has carefully noted, she received the news of the death of her husband, which had taken place at London on the preceding Wednesday. This gave the crowning touch to her restitution, so that, when she celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of her birth three days after, she would feel herself to be at last really

mistress of all that had been so long attempted to be kept from her.

Reviewing the course of her past life from this point, or from a little beyond it, she thus writes:—"I must confess, with inexpressible thankfulness, that, through the goodness of Almighty God, and the mercies of my Saviour Christ Jesus, Redeemer of the World, I was born a happy creature in mind, body, and fortune, and that those two lords of mine, to whom I was afterwards by the divine providence married, were, in their several kinds, worthy noblemen as any then were in this kingdom. Yet was it my misfortune to have contradictions and crosses with them both;—with my first lord about the desire he had to make me sell my rights in the lands of my ancient inheritance for money, which I never did nor never would consent unto, insomuch as this matter was the cause of a long contention between us, as also for his profuseness in consuming his estate, and some other extravagancies of his; and with my second lord because my youngest daughter, the Lady Isabella Sackville, would not be brought to marry one of his younger sons, and that I would not relinquish my interest I had in £5000, being part of her portion out of my lands in Craven. Nor did there want divers malicious ill-willers to blow and foment the coals of dissension betwixt us, so as in both their lifetimes the marble pillars of Knowle in Kent and Wilton in Wiltshire were oftentimes but the gay arbour of anguish; insomuch as a wise man, that knew the insides of my fortune, would often say that I lived in both these my lords' great families as the river of

Rhone (or Rhodanus) runs through the Lake of Geneva without mingling any part of its streams with that lake; for I gave myself wholly to retiredness as much as I could in both these great families, and made good books and virtuous thoughts my companions, which can never discern affliction, nor be daunted when it unjustly happens; and by a happy genius I overcame all those troubles, the prayers of my blessed mother helping me therein."* To this may be subjoined what she has said in the same strain in a preceding page:—"I must not forget to acknowledge that in my infancy and youth, and a great part of my life, I have escaped many dangers, both by fire and water, by passage in coaches and falls from horses, by burning fevers and excessive extremity of bleeding, many times to the great hazard of my life; all which, and many cunning and wicked devices of my enemies, I have escaped and passed through miraculously, and much the better by the help of the prayers of my devout mother, who incessantly begged of God for my safety and preservation."†

Here is at least nothing of a repining spirit. If the good Countess is fond of regarding herself as the favourite of Heaven, her contentment and gratitude are at least equal to her self-complacency. There is something really very fine and high in the unexaggerating way in which, in this retrospect, she refers to sufferings which must have been often very bitter at the time. Whatever they were, they have been borne, and that is enough; it would answer no good purpose to brood

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 122. † *Id.* p. 121.

over their memory. After all, many or most of them were probably blessings in disguise; some of them are now assuredly felt and known to have been so. Very magnanimous, too, is the manner in which she speaks of the various persons with whom it has been her fortune to come into collision in the course of her life. Even her usurping uncle and his nearest connexions, his wife, his son, and his daughter, are all, in respect of their general characters, favourably represented; nor have her differences with both her husbands, and all their neglect and ill-usage, provoked her to say an unkind word of either. This forbearance may come in part from a sense of dignity, or of what she owed to herself rather than to them; still, even looked at in that light, it does her credit. Her first husband's brother and successor, Earl Edward, is almost the only one of her enemies about whom she expresses herself with any bitterness or passion, or indeed otherwise than generously.

This remarkable woman survived for more than a quarter of a century after she had taken possession of her recovered inheritance, and become once more her own mistress, never again to be induced to relinquish that "sole dominion" by any new matrimonial temptation. Whether it was love or ambition that had instigated her last marriage, she had had enough of that, even if her years had not forbidden a third experiment. Countess of Dorset, of Pembroke, and of Montgomery, as well as Baroness Clifford in her own right, she had "titles manifold," and revenues in abundance too, with her two jointures added to the rental of her inherited estates. Nor did she ever again quit her native

mountains. She had seen enough of the court and the capital. But she may be said to have set up a court of her own, though of a novel description; for she became a sort of Queen of the North, in so far at least as she could merit that name by a princely and well regulated expenditure in good works of all kinds, and by reigning in the hearts of her dependents.

Her first care was directed to what she considered to be a work of pious duty, as well as of utility,—the restoration to a habitable condition of the head mansions on her several estates. There were no fewer than six of them in all: the Castles of Skipton, Pendragon, Appleby, Brougham, Brugh, and Barden. All of them were more or less dilapidated; some, such as Pendragon, had been neglected for centuries, and were in ruins; others, such as Skipton, had been reduced to nearly the same state by the treatment they had been subjected to in the late war. She completely repaired or rebuilt them all, at a cost, it is stated, of above 40,000*l.* Anne Clifford was, therefore, as great a builder in her way, as Bess of Hardwick, although her erections, aiming rather at solidity than show, could none of them perhaps vie in architectural pretensions with Hardwick or Chatsworth. Of the six ancient castles that she undertook to restore, it is asserted by Bishop Rainbow, in the eloquent sermon he preached at her funeral,—the earliest public document in which her history, character, and works were set forth, and still our principal source of information concerning her,—"scarce one showed more than the skeleton of an house." "Her reviving spirit," the Bishop proceeds, "put life into the work, made all

these dry bones live, those scattered stones come together, those ruins forsake their rubbish, and lift up their heads to their former height. A marvellous task, it was which she undertook,—to design the rebuilding so many and such great fabrics; to rear up them, when the earthly house of her tabernacle began to stoop and decline; being about the sixtieth year of her age when she began. Who then could hope to finish? But when she did consider in her great mind, did think *upon the stones, and it pitied her to see them in the dust,* her prudence, as with her hands, set on the work; raised, cemented, finished; and, where others might have thought it glory enough to be the restorer of any one, she laid the top-stone on them all." The Bishop takes for his text the verse from the Book of Proverbs: "Every wise woman buildeth her house." Upon each of her reconstructed castles she caused an inscription to be engraved, recording the length of time it had lain in ruins and the dates at which the restoration had been begun and finished. In this way, she conceived that she earned for herself the blessings promised in Scripture to the *repairer of breaches and the restorer of paths to dwell in.*

But her castles were not her only structures. "She built," the Bishop further observes, "or by repairing restored, six houses of her own, but of God's houses seven." He means the seven parish churches or chapels of Skipton, Brougham, Appleby, Barden, Ninekirks, Bongate, and Matterstang. She also repaired an almshouse built and endowed by her mother at Bearmly, and founded another herself at Appleby for thirteen

poor women, a Mother, as she called them, and twelve Sisters. The latter was finished in 1653, and it and its inmates ever after occupied a chief share of her time and attention.

Others of her erections were merely monumental or commemorative. Mention has already been made of her pillar in memory of her mother. She was also at the expense of having monuments erected to her tutor, Samuel Daniel, at Beckington in Somersetshire, and to Edmund Spenser, in Westminster Abbey. All her tastes were conservative and historical; made such in part, perhaps, by the age of revolution and destruction through which it had been her fortune to live.

One of this wise woman's principles in building, and indeed in whatever she undertook, was always, before she began, not only to count the cost, but to have the money provided and ready. She kept exact accounts of her expenditure, Bishop Rainbow tells us, digested in books according to a method of her own, which were every week, after being audited, signed with her own hand.

Yet her economy was in all things the reverse of penurious or pinching, of that mere contraction of expense within the narrowest possible limits which the term is often understood to mean. Her outlay was in every respect in correspondence with her ample income. Her good management included the want not, as well as the waste not. Her establishment in all its departments was bountiful as well as orderly, the natural and fitting expression of her wealth and rank.

Her charities were both liberal and of the most varied

range. Many of the ejected clergy in the days of the Church's desolation subsisted upon or were assisted by her bounty; King, who after the Restoration became Bishop of Chichester, and Duppa and Morley, who both lived to wear the mitre of Winchester, are particularly mentioned as having had each a pension from her during their exile on the Continent, in the time of the Commonwealth, of 40*l.* a year, besides which she is stated to have upon one occasion remitted them a sum of 1000*l.*, to relieve some more pressing necessity. An instance of another kind of charity, which many sufficiently zealous friends and supporters of the Church might not have thought of, was her supplying the means of bringing up and educating certain illegitimate children of her first husband,—not altogether unentitled, perhaps, she may have considered, to some share of what their father had left, as well as her own two more fortunate daughters.

Bishop Rainbow warmly celebrates both her kindness and her good sense in the treatment of her servants. As many great and wise governors of families, he remarks, have been observed in certain seasons to "let down themselves and their state," by admitting the discreeter among those about them to some degree of familiarity, "so this heroic lady would, besides the necessary discoursing with them about her affairs, divert herself by familiar conversation with her servants; in which they were sure (besides other gains from her bountiful hands) to gain from the words of her mouth something of remark; whether pleasant or profitable, yet very memorable for some or other

occasion of life." Although, he goes on to state, her own attire was humble and mean (that is, not sordid or despicable, as the word would now indicate, but rather plain and inexpensive), yet, like the wise and virtuous woman mentioned in the Book of Proverbs, *she clothed her house with scarlet.* "Her allowance and gifts were so bountiful and so frequent to them, that they might afford to clothe themselves in such garb as best became the servants of so great and so good a mistress." In the provision of food, also, while the members of her household were supplied "in such plenty that Hospitality and Charity might have their portion with them," she herself was contented with the simplest and cheapest viands, and with only a sufficiency of these to keep life and soul together. "Yet here," exclaims the very oratorical and lively Bishop, "I may be bold to tell you something to wonder at; that she much neglected and treated very harshly one servant, and a very ancient one, who had served her from her cradle, from her birth, very faithfully, according to her mind; which ill usage, therefore, her menial servants, as well as her friends and children, much repined at. And who this servant was I have named before. It was her body, who, as I said, was a servant most obsequious to her mind, and served her fourscore and six years. It will be held scarce credible to any, but it is a truth, to aver that the mistress of this family was dieted more sparingly, and, I believe, many times more homely, and clad more coarsely and cheaply, than most of the servants in her house." Her usual dress was a petticoat and closely fitting waistcoat, both of black serge; and

she would boast that she had scarcely ever tasted either wine or physic in her life.*

Her domestics were generally the children of her tenants; and her maid-servants were always portioned by her with a small sum of money if they married unobjectionably.† All her household regularly received the sacrament at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; besides which "she made," Bishop Rainbow continues, "one festival more for all that were fit to be invited, or compelled (as in the Gospel) to come to that supper. And, that all might be fitted and well prepared, she took care that several books of devotion and piety might be provided four times in the year; that every one might take their choice of such book as they had not before; by which means those that had lived in her house long (and she seldom turned any one away) might be furnished with books of religion and devotion in every kind."

Her own chief personal expense was in the purchase of books. Those which she was fondest of were books of history and of controversial divinity; and it is affirmed that, although she knew no language but her own, there were few English works of merit in these departments which she had not read or looked into. "Authors of several kinds of learning, some of controversies very abstruse," we are informed in her funeral sermon, "were not unknown to her." One polemical work is mentioned as having been particularly admired by her; a treatise of William Barclay's in answer to Cardinal Bellarmine, on the proper limits of the eccle-

* *Gilpin* (on authority of *Sedgwick's MS.*), II. 166. † *Id.* 159.

siastical and temporal powers. Her ordinary discourse the Bishop describes as having been rich with the gathered treasure of study, as well as with natural talent. "She had great sharpness of wit," he affirms, "a faithful memory, and deep judgment, so that by the help of these, much reading, and conversation with persons eminent for learning, she had early gained a knowledge as of the best things, so an ability to discourse in all commendable arts and sciences, as well as in those things which belong to persons of her birth and sex to know. She could discourse with virtuosos, travellers, scholars, merchants, divines, statesmen, and with good housewives in any kind. Insomuch that a prime and elegant wit (Dr. Donne), well seen in all human learning, and afterwards devoted to the study of divinity by the encouragement and command of a learned King, and a rare proficient in it, is reported to have said of this lady in her younger years to this effect, that she knew well how to discourse of all things from predestination to slea-silk."

In a subsequent paragraph, on this point of her character, we are told of a singular custom that she had:—"She was not ignorant of knowledge in any kind which might make her conversation, not only useful and grave, but also pleasant and delightful; which, that she might the better do, she would frequently bring out of the rich storehouse of her memory *things new and old*, sentences or sayings of remark, which she had read or learned out of authors. And with these her walls, her bed, her hangings and furniture must be adorned, causing her servants to write

them in papers, and her maids to pin them up, that she or they, in the time of their dressing, or as occasion served, might remember and make their descants on them. So that, though she had not many books in her chamber, yet it was dressed up with the flowers of a library." It appears that when her sight began to fail she had a person to read to her. He always carefully marked on the book on what day he commenced and finished it; and many volumes and pamphlets so marked are said still to remain in the evidence room at Skipton.* Other accounts state that she had always two ladies of education residing with her.†

But her literary pursuits were not confined to reading. She was also a great writer and compiler, either with her own hand and pen, or through the instrumentality of various persons whom she employed to assist her, and whose labours she appears to have at least superintended and directed, if she did not always absolutely dictate to them what they wrote in her name. Whitaker thinks that most of her correspondence has probably been carried away to Hothfield (the seat of the Earls of Thanet in Kent).‡ But various Diaries of portions of her own life, as well as historical Memoirs of her ancestry, drawn up by her or under her direction, are spoken of as still existing at Skipton or Appleby. It is remarkable, at the same time, in how indistinct a way these manuscripts have been spoken of by almost every writer who has referred to them.

Even Bishop Rainbow's account is vague and hesitating in regard to some points. "Diligence," he says,

* *Whitaker, Craven*, 313. † *Gilpin*, II. 166. ‡ *Craven*, 316.

"was a noted virtue in her. . . . But to undertake to describe this and her other virtues, that is, her life, were endless, and not necessary; none could describe it but herself that lived it; and indeed by her great diligence she did describe much of it; but, if I should tell you how much, possibly you would neither credit me, nor commend so much as admire her. . . . She did set down what was of more remark, or dictated and caused much of it to be set down in writing, in some certain seasons which she contrived to be vacant from addresses. . . . I confess I have been informed that, after some reviews, these were laid aside, and some parts of these Diaries were summed into Annals." He adds;—"As she had been a most critical searcher into her own life, so she had been a diligent enquirer into the lives, fortunes, and characters of many of her ancestors for many years. Some of them she hath left particularly described; and the exact annals of divers passages which were most remarkable in her own life, ever since it was wholly at her own disposal; that is, since the death of her last lord and husband, Philip Earl of Pembroke, which was for the space of six or seven-and-twenty years. But this I will say, that, as from this her great diligence her posterity may find contentment in reading these abstracts of occurrences in her own life, being added to her heroic father's and pious mother's lives dictated by herself, so they may reap greater fruits of her diligence in finding the honours, descents, pedigrees, estates, and the titles and claims of their progenitors to them, comprised historically and methodically in three volumes of the larger

size, and each of them three or four times fairly written over; which, although they were said to have been collected and digested in some part by one or more learned heads, yet they were wholly directed by herself, and attested in the most parts by her own hand." A marginal annotation explains the "learned head" alluded to as having been her chief assistant to be Sir Matthew Hale, afterwards the eminent Chief Justice.

The Bishop speaks from a personal acquaintance with the deceased Countess, and his statement was published, both from the pulpit and the press, immediately after her decease. It is evident, nevertheless, that he had not seen, or at least had not examined, any of the Diaries or Histories of which he gives so vague and unsatisfactory an account. Perhaps it was an article on Anne Clifford in Ballard's *Learned Women*, published in 1752, that first revived the general recollection of her; but it is only a compilation from Rainbow's Sermon, Dugdale's Baronage, and some slight notices of Camden's. The great restorer of the fame of the old Countess was Horace Walpole (who may, however, have had his attention awakened to the subject by Ballard's book). His first celebration of her was in the 14th No. of the periodical work called *The World*, published 5th April 1753, in which he introduced a Letter said to have been written by her, but without any hint of where he had found it. She figures in his *Royal and Noble Authors*, in the first edition of which, published in 1758, she is simply stated to have left in manuscript "Memoirs of her husband, Richard Earl of Dorset," and "Sundry Memorials of

Herself and her Progenitors." In subsequent editions the latter manuscript was stated to be extant in the British Museum. Granger's notice, in a *Supplement* to his *Biographical History* which appeared in 1774, is still more indefinite; the Countess's first husband, he says, was Richard Sackville Earl of Dorset, "a man of merit, whose memory was ever dear to her, and whose Life she has written." Then came Thomas Pennant, with his second "Tour in Scotland," (performed in 1772), in the second Part, or Volume, of which, published in 1776, we have an account of Anne Clifford extending over some seven or eight quarto pages. He speaks of having found certain manuscript Letters and Diaries both of her and her mother, and both refers to and quotes from her *Life by herself in manuscript;* but as to where he found any of the said manuscripts he says not a word.

A distinct enough account, indeed, so far as it goes, was given of one portion of the writings left by the Countess in Nicolson and Burn's *History of Westmoreland and Cumberland,* published in 1777. In the Preface to that work we read:—"The Right Honourable Anne, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, at a vast expense procured from all the public offices copies of every thing that could be found relating to any of her ancestors, the Veteriponts and Cliffords, Lords of Westmoreland and hereditary sheriffs of the same, and caused the said copies to be engrossed in three large folio volumes, and lodged in her castle at Appleby, where they now remain. In making this collection, she employed that learned antiquary,

Mr. Roger Dodsworth, who left a large collection of manuscripts to the University of Oxford. From these records she caused to be compiled an history of her ancestors, from the first Robert de Veteripont, in the reign of King John, down to her own time; in the digesting of which memoirs she employed that great and learned lawyer Mr. Hale, afterwards Lord Chief Justice." But of her autobiographical memoirs, Nicolson and Burn say nothing. Their account of the Countess is derived chiefly from a manuscript Life of himself by a person named Sedgwick, who had, it seems, been her steward, and also travelling tutor to one of her grandsons. Sedgwick's MS. is said to bear the date of 1682; its place of deposit is not stated.

In the third volume of the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica,* published in 1784, the article on the third Clifford Earl of Cumberland, reprinted from the original work, has appended to it a long note by Dr. Kippis on his daughter Anne, who, it is remarked, had lately become extremely celebrated; the thing that had brought her so much into the public eye being her Letter published in *The World.* The note is stated to be compiled from papers communicated by John Baynes, Esq., Barrister at Law; among which were transcripts of the "Summary of the Records" relating to the ancestors of the Countess, and also of the "True Memorial" of her own Life: from the latter several extracts are given; but of the original manuscripts whence Mr. Baynes had made his transcripts all mention is, as usual, omitted or carefully avoided.

The Reverend William Gilpin's *Observations on the Scenery of Cumberland and Westmoreland* first appeared in 1786, but had been mostly written some twelve or fourteen years before. That work contains a somewhat detailed account of the Countess of Pembroke, whose history, it is observed, is "less known than it ought to be." Gilpin professes to take his facts principally from the manuscript of Sedgwick, whom he styles her secretary. It is still, he says, extant in Appleby Castle. There, also, among the family records, he tells us, is the "great work" of the "History of her Ancestors," all fairly transcribed, and filling three large volumes; and then he adds;—"In a large folio volume, which made a part of her equipage when she travelled from one castle to another, she ordered an entry to be made, under her own inspection, of the transactions of every day. To what particulars this journal extended I have not learned. This work, I am informed, is still extant, and in the hands of the Earl of Thanet." Nothing is said of any other autobiographical memoir.

We have already seen the evasive or insufficient description given by Seward of the early Diary published in his *Anecdotes*.* The late Mr. Park, in his new edition of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, published in 1806, states in the third volume, that he had searched in vain in the British Museum for the manuscript of Lady Pembroke's Memoirs of her own Life, affirmed by Walpole to exist in that repository. In a note in his fifth volume, however, he intimates that the manuscript had been since pointed out to

* See *ante*, p. 102.

him by Mr. (afterwards Sir Egerton) Brydges. It is No. 6177 of the Harleian Collection.

But the Harleian volume, which is a folio of about 240 pages in all, is only a transcript. It is entitled "A Summary of the Lives of the Veteriponts, Cliffords, and Earls of Cumberland; and of the Lady Anne Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, &c., daughter and heir to George Clifford Earl of Cumberland, in whom the name of the said Cliffords determined." And it bears to be "Copied from the Original Manuscript, the 29th of December 1737, by Henry Fisher." But where the original manuscript is lodged we are nowhere told. Many things that have been quoted from the Countess's Memoirs, or Diaries, are not to be found in Mr. Fisher's transcript. He is, moreover, a very ignorant and incompetent hand, and appears to have been frequently unable to read what he undertook to copy. Mr. Baynes's transcript, however, may have been made from his.

The darkness and confusion are not diminished by the latest writers. Whitaker, in his *History of Craven*, has numerous references to and quotations from Lady Pembroke's Memoirs of her Own Life; but many of them do not agree with the copy in the Harleian Collection. He sometimes speaks of the manuscript as being at Appleby Castle, but he nowhere gives any description of it. In the account of *Westmoreland* contained in the work called the *Beauties of England*, published in 1814, it is stated that many of the Countess's Diaries are still in existence at Appleby Castle; and some extracts are given from the last of

them, which comes down to within two days of her death. There is nothing resembling these extracts in the Harleian manuscript.

Lodge, in his article on the Countess of Pembroke in the first volume of his *Portraits of Illustrious Personages*, published in 1821, professes to draw his materials chiefly from her own "Summary of the Circumstances of her Life;" but the way in which he speaks of that work would almost imply that he had never seen it. He is not only perfectly silent in regard to where the manuscript exists, but has no other refutation to offer of the mistake which he says has generally been made, of confounding it with her ladyship's History of her Progenitors, except a reference to the terms in which, as he asserts, the two works are clearly distinguished by Bishop Rainbow. "Lord Orford," he adds, "says that she wrote Memoirs of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset, which remain in manuscript: this has been, apparently with little reason, doubted by some later writers. Many curious effusions of her busy mind probably remain unknown, and buried among the evidences of her posterity."

Anne Clifford is one of the "Northern Worthies" celebrated by the late Hartley Coleridge in his lively and cordial *Biographia Borealis*, published in 1833; but he frankly professes to know her own Memoir of her Life only from the extracts given from it in various printed books. Finally, Miss Costello, probably the latest biographer of the Countess, writing in 1844, favours us with the following information on the subject of her manuscript remains:—"This valuable manu-

script (the three volumes of transcripts relating to her ancestors), still said to exist amongst the family papers at Appleby Castle, contains numerous anecdotes of a great variety of characters, and is doubtless of great interest and importance. Probably as a pendant to this curious collection, she kept a daily record of all circumstances connected with herself, and never moved from castle to castle without a large folio volume, in which entries were made of all occurrences that took place in which she had any concern; it is said, that, 'to the paring of her nails and the clipping of her hair,' nothing is omitted. As this Diary contained remarks and anecdotes of many persons of her time, whose ancestors [descendants?] might have been annoyed at its being made public, the Earl of Thanet, to whom her estate of Appleby descended, caused this singular and valuable history to be destroyed. It is not, however, impossible that a copy was made; and in that case, perhaps, the papers may yet be brought to light in these days of curiosity, when the details of family history are so eagerly sought for."* Which Earl of Thanet (there have been ten of them since the time of Lady Pembroke, all lords of Appleby Castle) Miss Costello understands to have been the considerate destroyer of the Diary, does not appear.

The only one of the Countess's manuscripts, or of those relating to her, preserved at Appleby or Skipton, besides the early Diary published by Seward, that, as far as I am aware, has been printed *in extenso*, is a brief abstract of the principal events of her life,

* *Eminent Englishwomen*, I. 269.

extant at Appleby, which has been edited by Edward Hailstone, Esquire, of Horton Hall, Bradford.*

There is, also, however, an abridgment of the history of her family in the form of an inscription, or series of inscriptions, on a picture extant at Skipton, which Whitaker has printed in full. The inscriptions are said by tradition to have been drawn up by Hale, or with his assistance. The picture is in three divisions, forming a screen. The central and chief compartment, of the greater portion of which Whitaker has given an engraving, presents full-length figures of the Countess's father and mother, and of their two sons, together with heads of Margaret. Lady Derby and Frances Lady Wharton, sisters of the Earl, and of his wife's sisters, Anne Lady Warwick and Elizabeth Lady Bath. The two side-leaves of the screen have been devoted by the contriver to the preservation of the memory of her own features and figure. On the one she appears a girl of thirteen, in a white dress embroidered with flowers, her head decorated with a garniture of large pearls; one hand rests on a music book, her lute lying beside her; while supporting her on the other side is seen a pile of books, including Eusebius, St. Augustine, Sydney's Arcadia, Godfrey of Boulogne, The French Academy, Camden, Ortelius, Cornelius Agrippa on the Vanity of the Occult Sciences, &c., &c. Above are the heads of the poet Daniel and of Mrs. Anne Taylor, her tutor and governess. The other picture exhibits

* In the Camden Society's last list of "Works in Progress," or suggested to the Council for early publication, is "The Autobiography of Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, and other Records preserved in Skipton Castle;" to be edited by Mr. Hailstone.

her in middle age, and in her widowhood. She is "dressed," to quote Pennant's description, "in a black gown and black vest, with white sleeves, and round her waist is a chain of great pearls; her hair long and brown; her wedding ring on the thumb of her right hand, which is placed on the Bible and Charron's Book of Wisdom. The rest of the books are of piety, excepting one of Distillations and of Excellent Medicines."*

With all her reading and study, moreover, the Countess was no recluse. Among Bishop Rainbow's other ingenious applications of his text is the following:— "The whole country, considering the freedom of her hospitality, was in this sense her *house*; nay, even all of quality that did pass through the country. It was held uncouth, and almost an incivility, if they did not visit this lady and her house, which stood conspicuous and open to all comers, and her ladyship known to be easy of access to all addresses in that kind. And seldom did any come under her roof, who did not carry some mark and memorial of her house, some badge of her friendship and kindness; she having always in store such things as she thought fit to present. She did not always consider what was great, or what might by value make the present worth acceptation, or how it suited to the condition of the person; but what, as her pleasant fancy suggested, might make her memorable to the person who was to receive it." Without, perhaps, much softness of heart, everything that is recorded of her

* *Tour in Scotland*, 1772; II. 357. See also *Whitaker's Craven*, 265—270.

shows that her strength of character had nothing about it of churlishness or moroseness.

But in celebrating the virtues of her soul, which he calls "the chief of her houses," the one which the Bishop rates the highest is her humility. "You might, he says, "have sometimes seen her sitting in the almshouse which she built among her twelve sisters, as she called them. And, as if they had been her sisters indeed, or her children, she would sometimes eat her dinner with them at their almshouse; but you might find them often dining with her at her table, some of them every week, all of them once a month; and after meat as freely and familiarly conversing with them in her chamber as if they had been her greatest guests. And truly the greatest of her guests, her *noblest* children, could not please her if they did not visit them, and pass their salutes at her almshouse with those sisters and their mother, sometimes before they made their first address to herself their mother."

She was so far from being censoriously given, we are further told, that even in regard to persons who most differed from herself in their manner of living, and paid what she deemed an unnecessary obedience to fashion and custom, she was rarely or never heard to give way to a severe remark. Much that she could not approve of she only kept aloof from, and rebuked with some lively sally; as when, upon being urged by a lady, one of her country neighbours and acquaintances, after the King's return, to make only one visit more to London, and gratify herself with a view of the glory and gallantry of the restored Court, she replied, that she feared,

from what she heard of the doings at Whitehall, that, if she were really, after her long habits of country simplicity, once more to present herself there, she would have to be treated as ill-trained or unruly horses were, and have blinkers put upon her eyes. "Her conversation," says her right reverend panegyrist, "was indeed meek, affable, and gentle, her words, according to the circumstances of persons in her presence, pleasant or grave, always seasoned with salt, savoury but never bitter. I had the honour to be often admitted to her discourse, but never heard, nor have been told by others, that she was invective or censorious, or did use to speak ill or censoriously of persons or actions; but she was especially cautious in censuring public persons or actions in matters of state. I was present when she was told of the certainty of the war with the Dutch, and of the great preparations on all hands; on which subject she only said, if their sins be greater than ours they would have the worst."

As for another excellence, constancy, that, according to the Bishop, "was so known a virtue in her that it might vindicate the whole sex from the contrary imputation." The female character generally is a subject about which his lordship is somewhat perplexed. "It was a strange question," he observes, "for King Solomon to ask, having had seven hundred wives, Who can find a virtuous woman? And it was as strange that he should answer that question when he was become a Preacher; 'Behold, this I have found, saith the Preacher,' counting one by one to find out the account. And what was the sum total when he had cast up his account? Why,

it is come to one and none. 'One man among a thousand have I found, but a woman (a virtuous woman, he means) among all these have I not found.' And he had the full number of a thousand; seven hundred wives, three hundred concubines. The meaning is, that a truly virtuous woman was a rarity in his time, even while King Solomon was a Preacher. But I hope the world is better since." In asserting that the Countess vindicated her whole sex, therefore, his lordship, with such notions, goes no small length in the way of compliment. She was, at any rate, a sufficient refutation of Virgil's definition—*varium et mutabile semper femina.* Her firmness and persistency, after she had once taken her determination, might rather have been said at times to partake of obstinacy and doggedness. "She used, as she said, to chew the cud, ruminating on the next day's business in her night wakings; when she had once weighed the circumstances and resolved, she did not like to have any after considerations, or to be moved by them." Even in matters of inferior importance her custom was to persevere with whatever she had begun so long as it was at all possible. She was wont to distribute the year among her six castles, spending regularly a certain allotted number of weeks or months at each. In passing from one to another, "she shewed her bounty all the way;" and these journeys she often made in the winter, disregarding the uncouth and untrodden roads of that mountainous region, though sometimes almost impassable at that season, "that she might make the poor people and labourers her pioneers, who were always well rewarded for their pains." "If she

found not mines in these mountains," exclaims his rhetorical lordship, "I am sure the poor found money in good plenty whensoever she passed over them." "But," he proceeds, "that which I speak of for an instance of her constancy is a known story in these parts. When about three years ago she had appointed to remove from Appleby to Brougham Castle in January, the day being very cold, a frost and misty, yet, much company coming, as they usually did to attend her removals, she would needs hold her resolution; and in her passage out of her house she diverted into the chapel (as at such times she commonly did), and there, at or near a window, sent up her private prayers and ejaculations; when immediately she fell into a swoon, and could not be recovered until she had been laid for some time upon a bed near a great fire. The gentlemen and neighbours who came to attend her used much persuasion that she would return to her chamber, and not travel on so sharp and cold a day; but, she having before fixed on the day, and so much company being come purposely to wait on her, she would go; and, although, as soon as she came to her horse-litter, she swooned again, and was carried into a chamber as before, yet as soon as that fit was over she went; and was no sooner come to her journey's end (nine miles) but a swooning seized on her again; from which being soon recovered, when some of her servants and others represented to her, with repining, her undertaking such a journey, foretold by divers to be so extremely hazardous to her life, she replied she knew she must die, and it was the same thing to her to die in the way

as in her house, in her litter as in her bed." This journey is also recorded in her autobiographical Memoir; it was performed in January 1673, when she had reached the verge of her eighty-fourth year.*

Her steadiness in higher things was, it may be supposed, equally conspicuous. The Bishop next proceeds to extol her courageous adherence to her principles, both religious and political, in the worst times. Once during the Commonwealth, her castle (Skipton appears to be meant) was taken possession of by Cromwell's government, and garrisoned by a military force under the command of the notorious General Harrison, described by Rainbow as "one whom even his great master himself looked upon as under a dispensation more terribly fanatical than any in his host, terrible even to himself and his usurped power." Harrison suspected that the Countess occasionally sent pecuniary aid to young Charles Stuart; the Bishop does not say that she had done this, but only intimates that she might probably have been inclined to transmit the money, "if there had been means with safety to convey it;" baffled, however, in his attempts to obtain proof of her guilt, the fierce republican soldier, we are told, had recourse to threats with the woman whose life was in a manner in his hands, and charged her to her face with her disaffection, in the hope probably that she would be frightened and come to terms with him, or that he might at least draw from her some admission that would equally suit his purpose. If we may believe the story, and it is quite in keeping with every thing

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 199.

that is told of her, she did not for a moment think of concealing her sentiments. "This undaunted lady would not so easily yield, but would be superior in the dispute; having truth and loyalty on her side, she would not betray them at the peril of her life and fortune; but boldly asserted that she did love the King, that she would live and die in her loyal thoughts to the King: so with her courage dulled the edge of so sharp an adversary, that, by God's merciful restraint, he did her no harm at that time."

Several other stories are also related in illustration of her loyalty. It appears from her own account that soon after she took possession of her property she became involved in disputes and lawsuits with certain of her tenants.* In this state of things, we are told, when Oliver Cromwell offered his mediation it was at once peremptorily rejected by the Countess. "She answered loftily, she would never accept it while there was any law to be found in England:—What! does he imagine that I, who refused to submit to King James, will submit to him?" This is the Reverend Mr. Gilpin's version of the story, dressed up for popular effect.† But in his original it runs somewhat differently:— "Oliver Cromwell would needs be a stickler, and interpose in behalf of the tenants; and to that purpose issued out a commission to some gentlemen in the barony of Kendal to treat with her about composing that difference at Appleby Castle. When they came there she used them with all kindness and courtesy;

* See *Harl. MS.* 6177, pp. 134, 137, 144, 147.

† *Cumberland and Westmoreland*, II. 155.

but told them plainly she would never refer any of her concerns in that kind to the Protector, or any living person, but leave it wholly to the direction of the law; adding further, that she, that had refused to submit to King James on the like account, would never do it to the Protector, whatever hazard or danger she incurred thereby."* In this undecorated account, we see, Cromwell makes no offer of his mediation to the Countess; on the contrary it is on behalf of the tenants "that he interposes." Nor is her refusal to leave the matter to the decision of the commissioners conveyed in terms that are at all contemptuous or offensive.

Another of Gilpin's anecdotes is, that, upon being once warned that Cromwell would probably not suffer such strongholds as she had made her six castles to stand, she replied, "Let him destroy them if he will, but he shall merely find that as often as he destroys them I will rebuild them, while he leaves me a shilling in my pocket."†

But the most famous explosion of anti-republicanism and anti-Cromwellianism attributed to the Countess—perhaps the most famous passage in her whole life—is the reply she is said to have sent to Secretary Williamson upon his writing to her about the return of a candidate patronised by the Government for the borough of Appleby:—"I have been bullied by an usurper, neglected by a court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man sha'n't stand." This note has been rapturously lauded by many critics, as an example of

* *Beauties of England*, XV. 62; apparently from *Sedgwick's MS.*

† *Cumberland and Westmoreland*, II. 155.

forcible and laconic eloquence. Unfortunately, however, its authenticity is more than questionable. Nobody has pretended ever to have seen either the original manuscript, or any copy of it older than the number of the *World* in which it first appeared in April 1753. Walpole, the contributor of that paper, refers to no authority for it either there or in his *Royal and Noble Authors*, where it is also given. If such a note was written by the Countess, it must have been in her very last days; for Sir Joseph Williamson did not become Secretary of State till July 1674, when she was in her eighty-fifth year. Moreover, there does not appear to have been any election of a member for Appleby between that date and the death of the Countess. Much also as the style of the note has been admired, it has no resemblance to anything else that we have from her pen; nor is it, one would say, much in the spirit of her character and temper. She was, indeed, inflexible and tenacious of what she believed to be her rights, and she would repel an attack upon her independence with firmness and spirit; but we have no grounds for supposing that she was given to such rhetorical *brusquerie* as this note is an outbreak of. Its admirers also ought to explain what is meant by its concluding expression, "Your man sha'n't stand." This, if she had written it, would have been mere impotent passion, for of course she could not prevent the ministerial candidate from standing.*

Her real character and habitual course of procedure

* See also what has been said about this note by *Lodge* in the *Illustrious Portraits*, and by *Hartley Coleridge* in his *Biographia Borealis*, 290.

are better indicated by another of Gilpin's anecdotes:—"It was a custom on all her estates for each tenant to pay, besides his rent, an annual *boon hen*, as it was called. This had ever been acknowledged a just claim, and is, I believe, to this day paid on many of the great estates in the North; being generally considered as a steward's perquisite. It happened that a rich clothier from Halifax, one Murgatroyd, having taken a tenement near Skipton, was called upon by the steward of the castle for his boon hen. On his refusal to pay it, the Countess ordered a suit to be commenced against him. He was obstinate and she determined; so it was carried into length. At last she recovered her hen, but at the expense of £200. It is said that, after the affair was decided, she invited Mr. Murgatroyd to dinner, and, drawing the hen to her, which was served up as the first dish, 'Come,' said she, 'Mr. Murgatroyd, let us now be good friends; since you allow the hen to be dressed at my table, we'll divide it between us.'"* She does not appear to have had anything of bluster about her.

The Countess's loyalty to the Church, Bishop Rainbow of course does not forget to let us know, was as staunch as her loyalty to the Crown. And, as she was brought, he says, to the touchstone for the latter, so also was she to test and trial for the former. Whether it was a committee, or what sort of deputation it was, that was sent to her he had not been informed; but a number of the Commonwealth divines came to her castle, while it was held by Cromwell's garrison, and

* *Cumberland and Westmoreland*, II. 162.

called her before them to be examined touching her religious belief. "One might well have thought," continues his lordship, "in a person of her quality, age, and spirit, disdain at such insolency should have kept her from answering, or saying anything except in answering their arrogancy and proud hypocrisy. But, having learned another lesson, ... she told them to this, or like, effect:—That her faith was built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, that is, upon the Holy Scriptures, the Word of God, as delivered and expounded by the Church of England, whose doctrine, discipline, and worship, as by law established, she was bred in and had embraced, and, by God's grace, would persist in it to her life's end. This general, with other more explicit, answer was so apposite, delivered with such firmness of mind, that some ministers, whom they had drawn in with them to give a colour to their presumption, observing that this well-taught lady had purchased a good degree of boldness in the faith,—observing, I say, the steadfastness and trial of her faith, more precious than gold that perisheth (they knew that gold she would easily let go upon all occasions very liberally, but saw she would hold fast the faith once delivered to her), they left her; one of them going out weeping, amazed, and confounded to find such knowledge, constancy, and courage in a woman, her faith so sound and laudable, and mixed with so much Christian meekness and condescension. The rest also, being no doubt astonished at her understanding and answers, left her a glorious confessor, willing enough, no doubt, to have been a martyr, and to have

sealed to the truth by undergoing any more fiery trial." She never, it is added, even when there was a kind of interdict in the land against the administration of the sacraments according to the Common Prayer, would communicate in any other way. After the Restoration she had no domestic chaplain; but, at each of her six houses, she had always the parish minister to officiate, duly paying him for his services. Morning and evening service were duly performed in her chamber every day, wherever she was; and she seldom omitted, besides, offering up her private devotions at morning, at mid-day, and at night. The Psalms for the day of the month she always read or had read to her, in addition to a considerable portion of one of the Gospels or some other part of Scripture. One chapter, the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, she particularly delighted in.

Meanwhile, tenacious of everything, of her old habits as well as of her rights, the old lady kept up to the last that registration of the events and transactions of every passing day, which, in various forms, appears to have been her practice from her earliest years, and throughout her long life. In some of her diaries nothing seems to have been deemed too trivial for record. Here is an entry from one of them, under the date of the 22nd of February 1676: "And this day, before I was out of my bed, did I pare off the tops of the nails of my fingers and toes; and when I was up I burned them in the fire in the chimney of my bed-chamber in Brougham Castle. And a little afore, in this same chamber of mine, did George Goodgeon clip off all the hair of my

head, which I likewise burned in the fire. And after supper I washed and bathed my feet and legs in warm water wherein beef had been boiled and some brawn; and I had not done this to myself since the 18th of December, that George Goodgeon cut my hair from me in this Brougham Castle. God grant that good may betide me and mine after it."* This is evidently her own dictation to an amanuensis or attendant; and the journal, it seems, goes on with the same particularity till within two days of her death.

That event was by this time very near at hand. The Memoir of which there is a transcript in the Harleian Collection breaks off at the last day of November 1675, with the following words:—"Thus far this book is a copy of the Summary of the Countess of Pembroke's Life, containing a continued thankful commemoration, as her honour hath often said, of God's great mercies and blessings to her and hers; and were written by her ladyship or her directions. But she proceeded no further; for on Sunday, the 9th of March 1675-6, it pleased Almighty God to visit her with sickness, which wrought so sharply upon her all that day and Monday, that on Tuesday she was forced to keep her bed; and on Wednesday, the 22nd of that month, about six o'clock in the afternoon, after she had endured all her pains with a most Christian fortitude, always answering those that asked her how she did, with 'I thank God I am very well,' which were her last words directed to mortals, she, with much cheerfulness, in her own chamber in Brougham Castle, in

* *Beauties of England*, XV. 63.

Westmoreland, wherein her noble father was born and her blessed mother died, yielded up her precious soul into the hands of her merciful Redeemer."*

She was buried in the parish church of Appleby, on the 14th of April, under a monument of her own erecting; and then and there was delivered before a crowded, we may be sure, and sympathising audience, that funeral oration by the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, to which we have been so largely indebted. Its conclusion, with some of the quaintness of the time, is still very fine and noble, and must have fallen upon the listening multitude with powerful effect:—"Thus fell at last this goodly building; thus died this great wise woman; who while she lived was the honour of her sex and age, fitter for an history than a sermon. Who having well considered that her last remove—how soon she knew not—must be to the house of death, she built her own apartment there, the tomb before your eyes; against this day, on which we are all now here met to give her relics livery and seizin, quiet possession. And, while her dust lies silent in that chamber of death, the monuments which she had built in the hearts of all that knew her shall speak loud in the ears of a profligate generation; and tell that, in this general corruption, lapsed time's decay, and downfall of virtue, the thrice illustrious Anne, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, stood immovable in her integrity of manners, virtue, and religion; was a well-built temple

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 206. The remainder of the volume is occupied with a transcript of Bishop Rainbow's Sermon, which, however, has been printed both separately (8vo., London, 1677, 68 pp.), and in *Wilford's Memorials*, (fol. London, 1741).

for Wisdom and all her train of virtues to reside in; is now removed, and gone to inhabit a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Of the Countess of Pembroke's two daughters, the younger, Isabella Countess of Northampton, had six children* (the Peerage-writers enumerate only two sons and three daughters†); but they all died without issue. The present Marquess of Northampton is descended from a son of the third Earl by a second wife. The Clifford Barony and estates therefore were inherited by the line of Lady Pembroke's eldest daughter, Margaret Countess of Thanet. She bore her husband six sons and six daughters. Of the sons, the four eldest were all successively Earls of Thanet, and all died without male issue; so that the Earldom, on the decease of the last of them, at the age of eighty-five, in 1729, went to a son of a fifth brother. From this Sackville seventh Earl of Thanet sprung the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh Earls; the three last being again brothers. The last ten Earls thus made up only five generations; and the late Earl, who died unmarried in 1849, and with whom the title became extinct, was only the fifth in descent from the Countess of Pembroke. The Clifford estates were inherited, probably in conformity with the marriage settlement of his mother, by the second Earl of Thanet's second son, John, who himself became Earl three years after (in 1679) on the death of his elder brother; and from him they descended with the Earldom down to its last possessor.

* *Nicolson and Burn*, I. 291. † *Collins*, III. 198.

The descent of the Barony of Clifford, inheritable as it is in the female line, has been different. On the death of the Countess of Pembroke it fell into abeyance between her eldest grandson, Nicholas, then third Earl of Thanet, and his cousin, the Lady Alathea Compton, only surviving child of the Countess of Northampton. Lady Alathea died without issue in 1678, on which Earl Nicholas became *de jure* fifteenth Baron Clifford; but he never claimed the title, and died the following year. Nor was it claimed, though unquestionably inherited, by either of his two next brothers and successors in the Earldom; of whom one, John, fourth Earl, died in 1680, the other, Richard, fifth Earl, in 1684. The fourth brother, Thomas, however, who now succeeded to the Earldom, claimed and was allowed the old Barony in 1691; he is reckoned the eighteenth Lord Clifford. He enjoyed the Earldom, of which his birth seemed to give him so small a chance, for the long space of forty-five years, but, dying in 1729 without issue male, while the Earldom went to his nephew, left the Barony in abeyance among his five daughters and their representatives. After five years the abeyance was terminated by the crown in favour of the third daughter, Margaret, who had married Thomas Coke Baron Lovel, afterwards Earl of Leicester. The Countess of Leicester survived till 1775; when, she dying without issue, the Barony of Clifford fell to the representative of her eldest sister, Catharine, who had married Edward Viscount Sondes (son of the first Earl of Rockingham), and had by him a daughter, Catharine, who became the wife of Edward Southwell, Esquire,

and the mother of a son also named Edward; this son, therefore, now succeeded as twentieth Baron Clifford, or De Clifford. He enjoyed the ancient title for not quite three years, dying at the age of eighty-five in 1777, when he was succeeded by his son, of the same name, who lived till 1832, but then died without issue; upon which the Barony once more fell into abeyance among the representatives of his three sisters. The abeyance, however, was, after a few months, terminated by the Crown in favour of Sophia, only child of the late lord's eldest sister Catharine and her husband Colonel George Kein Hayward Coussmaker, and wife of Captain John Russell, son of Lord William Russell and nephew of the late Duke of Bedford. She is the present Baroness De Clifford.

There was another dignity derived by the Countess of Pembroke from her paternal ancestors, which, held by a female, was something more remarkable than a peerage, and which in no other instance was hereditary at all: she was Sheriff of a county. And that dignity too survived down to our own day, if it be not yet in existence; while in every other English county the sheriff is nominated by the Crown, the office is still, or at least was till within these few months, hereditary in Westmoreland. It had originally belonged to the Veteriponts, and came to the Cliffords through the marriage of Isabella, eldest daughter and coheir of Robert de Veteripont, with Roger de Clifford, father of the first Baron Clifford. Of this Isabella her descendant Lady Pembroke assures us, that "in her widowhood she sat in person as sheriffess, in the county of Westmore-

land, upon the bench with the Judges, as appears by the pleas and records of her time."* It has again and again been stated, that the Countess herself in the seventeenth century repeated this exhibition of her ancestress in the thirteenth, and that, according to some retailers of the story, not merely once as an assertion of her right, but frequently and habitually.† That she ever did so at all, I have found no evidence. If such a proceeding had ever taken place, it would, we may be tolerably sure, have figured conspicuously in her autobiographical Memoir; but there is no notice of it there, as far as I have observed. She was, however, recognised as sheriff, and she exercised the authority of the office by deputy. Thus we have her recording that she appointed such a deputy sheriff in 1651,‡ and probably in other years. The office appears to have been regarded as attached to the estate of Brougham Castle, or the other lands which had originally belonged to the Veteriponts; it descended with those estates to the Earls of Thanet; but whether it has fallen to their present possessor (who is a natural son of the late Earl) appears to be doubtful. For the present year (1850) a sheriff has been appointed by the Crown, under the authority of an Act passed in the last session of Parliament (the 12 & 13 Victoria, c. 42), entitled "An Act to provide for the execution for one year of the Office of Sheriff in the County of Westmoreland."

* *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 31.

† *Beauties of England*, XV. 62. *Pennant, Tour in Scotland* (1772), II. 359.

‡ *Harl. MS.* 6177, p. 136.

SIR STEPHEN FOX.

As among individuals, so among races and families, some are ever dropping off or passing away out of view, and others simultaneously rising into conspicuousness. The decay and the growth go on together. Although the succession of the generations of mankind has been likened from of old to that of the leaves,—

Οἵα περ φύλλων γενεὴ, τοιήδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν—

the proper emblem of this our mortal state is not the alternately flourishing and fading forest,—now all green, now all sere or bare,—but rather the continuous river rolling through it, which, also ever changing, yet seems ever the same.

Contemporary with the last of the Cliffords was the first of the Foxes. Contrasted as they were in position, the far descended Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery and the humbly born founder of the Barony of Holland and the Earldom of Ilchester were not without some remarkable points of coincidence both in their fortunes and in themselves. The woman, perhaps, had more of the oak,—the man, of the willow; but the combination in each of great dexterity in business or management with rare tenacity of purpose and of grasp enabled both to make even the rough

waves that swallowed up others support them and bear them onward, and so to be not the creatures of circumstance, like most of us, but rather the conquerors.

Stephen Fox was born at the village of Farley, in Wiltshire, on the 27th of March 1627. He had an elder brother named John. Of his father nearly all that appears to be known is that his name was William; his mother is recorded to have been Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Pavey, of the same county.* His regular biographer assures us that he has traced the pedigree of his hero "so nearly and closely as to find it had no contemptible rise," and describes his father as having been "of substance enough to breed up this his son in a liberal education;" adding that "it is altogether needless to ransack the Herald's Office for the origin and descent of his mother." † The fact is more plainly stated by Fox's friend Evelyn, who tells us that he was originally a poor boy belonging to the choir of Salisbury Cathedral, and that he was first taken notice of by

* In the earlier editions of Collins accounts are given of many Foxes who flourished between the close of the 13th and the close of the 16th century in Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, and some of whom, it is conjectured, may have possibly been connected with the founder of the present noble families of the name.—See *Peerage, Supplement*, 1750, *Vol.* II., *pp.* 511–521; and *Peerage*, 1756, *Vol.* V. *pp.* 378-389. The only person of any celebrity among these old Foxes was Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham and afterwards of Winchester, and Lord Privy Seal both to Henry VII. and Henry VIII., the distinguished diplomatist. Collins, however, had in vain endeavoured to trace the descent of this great man; and the only general conclusion he ventures to come to is, that several very eminent persons of the name of Fox appear to have been living in every age.

† *Memoirs* of the Life of Sir Stephen Fox, 1717, p. 3.

Bishop Duppa.* The excellent Duppa was appointed to that see in 1641.

"At the age of fifteen," Fox's biographer proceeds to say, "after he had run through the usual exercises preparatory to the understanding of accounts perfectly well (for his genius led him wholly and solely to the acquisition of some public station that way), he, for the beauty of his person and towardliness of his disposition, was recommended to some employment or other under the then great Earl of Northumberland."† This was Algernon, tenth Earl, the son of Earl Henry styled the Wizard, whom he succeeded in 1632.‡ He was a very wary personage, and managed to carry himself more successfully than most of his order through the troubles and perplexities of the time, keeping always on the winning, or, at any rate, on the safe, side. How long Fox remained in his service is not distinctly stated; all that is said is, that he had quitted it some time before the martyrdom of the King for that of Northumberland's younger brother Henry, who was created Baron Percy of Alnwick by Charles, at Oxford, in June 1643, and adhered steadily to the royal side throughout the contest; retiring when it became hopeless to the Continent with the Prince of Wales, in whose establishment he held the office of Master of the Horse, from which he was raised to that of Lord Chamberlain of the Household when the Prince, on the death of his father, assumed the title of King.

Fox probably accompanied Lord Percy to the continent. Evelyn's undecorated account is, that Percy

* *Diary*, I. 482 (6 Sept. 1680). † *Memoirs*, 5. ‡ See *Vol.* II. *p.* 110.

"procured for him an inferior place amongst the Clerks of the Kitchen and Greencloth side;" "where," it is added, "he was found so humble, diligent, industrious, and prudent in his behaviour, that, his Majesty being in exile and Mr. Fox waiting, both the King and lords about him frequently employed him about their affairs, trusting him both with receiving and paying the little money they had." But Clarendon's is here the most honourable testimony. When it had been resolved, in the summer of 1654, that the King should leave Paris for Germany, "for the future," writes the noble historian, "the charge of governing the expenses of the family, and of paying of the wages of the servants, and indeed of issuing out all monies, as well in journeys as when the Court resided anywhere, was committed to Stephen Fox, a young man bred under the severe discipline of the Lord Percy, now Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household. This Stephen Fox was very well qualified with languages, and all other parts of clerkship, honesty, and discretion that were necessary for the discharge of such a trust; and, indeed, his great industry, modesty, and prudence did very much contribute to the bringing the family, which for so many years had been under no government, into very good order; by which his Majesty, in the pinching straits of his condition, enjoyed very much ease from the time he left Paris." * Afterwards we are told that a small subsidy which his Majesty obtained from the German diet was managed with very good husbandry, and that the entire charge of his well-ordered family, including "his own

* *History*, Book XIV.

expenses for his table and his stable, and the board-wages, with which all his servants, from the highest to the lowest, were well satisfied," was now reduced to six hundred pistoles a month, and never exceeded that amount throughout the remaining six years of the royal exile. "This method in the managing," says Clarendon, "gave the King great ease, contented and kept the family in better order and humour than could reasonably have been expected, and was the more satisfactory by the no care and order that had been observed during all the residence the King had made in France." * So again it is noted that Charles, upon taking up his residence at Bruges, found himself as well served there as he had been at Cologne, his last place of sojourn; "where, when his family left it, there was not the least debt remained unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his Majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his economy." †

Lord Percy, who had long been completely alienated from his brother the Earl, died at Paris in 1659. He was never married. If we are to rely upon Burnet, when the Duke of Buckingham (the second Villiers), having joined Charles the Second, then Prince of Wales, at Paris in the year 1645, found him enough inclined to receive ill impressions, and thereupon set himself to corrupt the royal young man, and to indoctrinate him in all the iniquities and vices of the age, "in which he was too successful," he was seconded in that wicked design by the Lord Percy. "And, to complete the matter," adds the Bishop, "Hobbes was brought to

* *History*, Book XIV. † *Id.* Book XV.

him, under the pretence of instructing him in mathematics."* It was Percy who introduced Hobbes to his Majesty, as well as Fox. His lordship's character had presented itself in two of its most opposite aspects to Burnet and Clarendon.

Still another view of Percy is furnished by Whitelock, who relates, that, on the 17th of October 1648, being with the Prince of Wales at the Hague, he was committed for giving the lie to the Lord Colepepper in the presence of his Royal Highness.† Clarendon, though he and Percy were always good friends, admits him to have been a person both of a violent temper and a grasping disposition—an importunate solicitor (whether for others or for himself), as he describes him in one place,‡ a bold speaker, as he calls him in another, who had no faculty of reconciling men to him.§ But, he adds, "though he was generally unloved, as a proud and supercilious person, yet he had always three or four persons, of good credit and reputation, who were esteemed by him, with whom he lived very well; and, though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he ate well; which, in the general scarcity of that time, drew many votaries to him." This was during the First Civil War.

Fox and his master both accompanied his Majesty to Scotland in 1650; and the biographer of the former tells us, that at Worcester, "though he was not actually in the fight, he had the supervision of the Ordnance Board under the Lord Percy, then Master thereof,

* *Own Time*, I. 100.
† *Memorials*, 131.
‡ *History*, Book XI.
§ *Id.* Book VIII.

which he managed so well, notwithstanding his master had contracted the ill-will of the King and the whole Court by the neglect of it, that he was particularly made known to his Majesty, who not only gave him assurances of his favour, but had thenceforward a gracious eye upon him in order to his further promotion." * On the dispersion of the royal forces, Fox was directed by Percy to follow him to the coast of Sussex; and his biographer asserts that he performed important service in aiding the King's escape, "by his wise conduct in his instances with the master of the ship's wife, who had a knowledge of the royal passenger from the discovery of her husband, to keep matters secret."

Fox himself, we are assured, though he continued to the day of his death to retain a grateful sense of his obligations to Lord Percy, did not attribute the chief share in his appointment as superintendent of the royal Household to that lord, who, it seems, was, "at the very juncture wherein Mr. Fox obtained this important trust, out of favour with his Majesty, on account of his brother the Earl of Northumberland's discovering some letters of his to a committee of the rebel Parliament, by which the King's affairs were very much perplexed and embarrassed." † A detailed account of the matter is given as it is said to have come from Fox's own mouth, one day when he was visited at his lodgings in Whitehall by some persons of quality soon after the publication of Lord Clarendon's *History*. He declared that he should deserve to be taxed with the highest

* *Memoirs*, 8. † *Id.* 13.

injustice were he to attribute his introduction at Court to any other interest than Clarendon's own. It was true that his first rudiments of knowledge, in the exercise of all the offices he had served in, were imbibed under the good Lord Percy; and, had it not been for his previous reception into his lordship's family, he had been without the means of obtaining admission to his Majesty's favour or notice. But it was Sir Edward Hyde, then holding the office of Chancellor of his exiled Majesty's Exchequer, who had really procured him his first appointment in the Royal Household. When, as soon as the royal family was settled in France, attempts were made, under the direction or with the sanction of the Queen Mother, to bring over both the princes and their attendants to Popery, and successfully in several instances, "among others," said Fox, "I was laid siege to with uncommon ardour; but, what through the grace of God, with the remembrance of those instructions I had received from the most orthodox and truly primitive divines, and what through an innate aversion I had always entertained for Popish superstition, I was no ways to be prevailed upon, but so irritated the Father who had made sure of my perversion, that he gave a very untoward report of my obstinacy to the Queen; which would have had very ill consequences, had not the Chancellor of the Exchequer stept in between me and the danger that threatened me, and spoke so much in favour of me to the King, that, instead of giving ear to the whispers that were dealt about to lessen me in his Majesty's esteem, that good and gracious Prince was pleased to overlook my want of abilities, and to entrust

me with the care of the disbursements." Before Hyde and Lord Cottington set out on their embassy to Spain, his Majesty was pleased to ask the former where he could find a fit person to manage the domestic cash, and likely to do it in such a manner as that the inferior servants might have their salaries regularly paid, and the necessary expenses of the household be carefully and faithfully defrayed. "Upon which," Fox continued, "that best of ministers, without any solicitation or expectation on my part, had me in his thoughts, and from the goodness of his nature spoke so advantageously of me to the King, that within a few days after I had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand for that post." Fox learned all this from Sir William Godolphin many years afterwards. We are expected to infer that he had particularly interested Hyde by his successful resistance to Queen Henrietta's proselytizing manœuvres; his own firm opposition to which, it is intimated, was the true cause of the intense and unconquerable dislike in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was held by her Majesty.*

Fox is supposed to have been by this time a married man. His wife was Elizabeth daughter of Mr. William Whittle of Lancashire, and he is conjectured to have married her soon after the death of his father, which happened in the year 1652, and by which, it is further assumed by his biographer, he may have come into the possession of "something of a small estate."

The Clerk of his Majesty's Kitchen, as Fox was now styled, meanwhile went on gaining the goodwill of all

* *Memoirs*, 14—23.

sorts of people with whom he had to do, and showing his activity and efficiency in many ways. While his Majesty and his sister the Princess of Orange were at Cologne, in September 1654, "that very judicious lady," we are informed, "was so surprisingly affected with a sense of his wise conduct in the management of the whole course of her entertainments there, as to show him more particular marks of esteem than any other of the King's domestics, by a present of a diamond ring valued at more than fifty pounds, and by recommending him as the most grateful messenger to be sent to her from her royal brother upon any emergent occasion." * Afterwards, it is asserted, he, by his able conduct of a negotiation with which he was entrusted at the court of the Prince of Orange, procured for his royal master a settled annuity of 10,000*l.* a year. By his thrifty management, while the King resided at Brussels, not only were the expenses of his family kept from exceeding the very limited revenue, but upon one occasion, when his Majesty was "put to a pinch" by having lost a sum of money to a Walloon Count, and had in vain applied to the person having the care of the empty privy purse for the means of discharging his debt of honour, he was agreeably surprised by Fox bringing him not only the required amount but as much more in addition, all of which he told him he had saved out of the allowance for the maintenance of the household. Delighted with this unexpected deliverance, Charles forthwith ordered Sir Edward Walker, Garter, to make his frugal and faithful servant a grant of

* *Memoirs*, 25.

arms,—"hereby to admit him into the number of the gentility of his kingdom, who had exceeded even the nobility by his generous and loyal deportment to his distressed Sovereign." The first of the Foxes was thus made a gentleman on the 30th of October 1658.*

Even political affairs of the highest and most delicate nature were at this time entrusted to the management of the careful and sagacious Clerk of the Kitchen. He kept up, we are told, a constant correspondence with the royalist party in London, and in that way often obtained important English intelligence before it came to the ears either of the exiled King or of any of the other persons about him. It was Fox who first received the news of Cromwell's death, six hours before any express reached Brussels; Charles was playing at tennis with the Archduke Leopold and other Spanish grandees, when he approached and made the welcome announcement on bended knee, and begged to congratulate his Majesty as being now King in fact as well as by right. This, it is stated, "so ingratiated him afresh with that Prince, who received him with an air of pleasantry, that from thenceforward he was admitted into the King's most secret thoughts, and was advised with more like a Privy Counsellor than a servant of an inferior rank."†

In the brief interval of confusion and busy intrigue that followed, Fox's dexterity, and talent of management and negotiation, were found eminently serviceable. He frequently crossed over to England with confidential messages of the last moment to various persons there. It was he who delivered with his own hand the

* *Memoirs*, 27. † *Id.* 29.

first letters from his master both to Monk and to Lenthall.

This is all only history or record. The first actual view that we get of Fox is a glimpse of him in the multifarious page of Pepys. On the morning of the 24th of May 1660, the day after the King had embarked, the bustling but punctual Diarist, then in attendance on his patron Lord Sandwich on board the Naseby, soon to be disencumbered of that inauspicious name and rechristened the Royal Charles, off Scheveling in Holland, got up, he informs us, and made himself as fine as he could, with the linen stockings on, and wide cannons (or trunk breeches) he had bought the other day at the Hague. There was extraordinary press of noble company, and great mirth all the day; and Pepys, occupying the carpenter's cabin, had the honour of entertaining at dinner there, among other persons of distinction, "Mr. Daray [Darcy?] and Mr. Fox, both very fine gentlemen." "We had," he adds, "brave discourse." It may be reasonably presumed that Fox did not fail to distinguish himself in the talk when it came to that, as well as by the bravery of his attire.

The post to which Fox was nominated in the first instance in the restored Court, or Royal Household, was that of First Clerk of the Green Cloth; but to this was soon after added what eventually proved a much more valuable appointment, that of Paymaster of the Guards. These household troops, with a few garrisons, formed at this time the entire military force of the kingdom; so that, when "all other His Majesty's

land forces" were included in the patent, the added words would be regarded as nearly insignificant; but the effect really was to constitute Fox Paymaster-General of the Army. This erelong became the most money-making office in the state.*

From the moment of the Restoration we have Fox figuring as His Majesty's pecuniary agent in cases of the highest trust. On the 7th of November 1660 Pepys records his being shown by Lord Sandwich a bill under the King's hand for £4000, "that Mr. Fox is to pay him." Again, on the 22nd of the same month he writes;—"To Mr. Fox's, where we found Mrs. Fox within, and an Alderman of London paying £1000, or £1400, in gold upon the table for the King." Pepys adds, "Mr. Fox came in presently, and did receive us with a great deal of respect; and then did take my wife and I to the Queen's presence-chamber, where he got my wife placed behind the Queen's chair, and the two princesses come to dinner." The sharp-scented Diarist does not fail to cultivate the acquaintance of a personage at once so capable and so well placed. On the 3rd of February 1661, being Lord's Day, and that on which he first begins to go forth in his coat and sword, "as the manner now among gentlemen is," Pepys repairs to Mr. Fox's unbidden, and there finds

* The correct account is probably that given by Collins:—"On that wild insurrection of Venner and the Fifth Monarchy men, in January 1660-1, the King being advised not to be without guards, two regiments were raised, of which Mr. Fox was appointed paymaster; and afterwards, other forces being raised on the war with the Dutch, he was constituted Paymaster-General of all His Majesty's Forces in England."—*Peerage*, V. 367.

"a good dinner and special company." Pepys's activity and decided business talents would give Fox a respect for him; and they had also some other accordances which would help to attach them. "Home with Mr. Fox and his lady," Pepys records under date of the 7th of September 1662, "and there dined with them. Most of our discourse was what ministers are flung out that will not conform; and the care of the Bishop of London that we are here supplied with very good men." Pepys and his friend, with some slight puritanic tendencies of a speculative kind, were of very moderate and accommodating principles, and "good men" in their estimation were probably clergymen who, sympathising with their nonconforming and ejected brethren, yet did not think it necessary to follow their example; disapproving both of the policy which had driven them out of the Church, and of their scrupulosity in going out.

The intimacy, no doubt, went on increasing. A few years later we have frequent notices of their meeting both on business and for social enjoyment; the party being commonly completed by the Cofferer, William Ashburnham, younger brother of the better known John Ashburnham, who is so mixed up with the story of the last days of Charles the First. Thus, on the 6th of April 1666 the three friends meet by agreement to discuss the business of the Excise Tallies. Fox was now Sir Stephen; he had been knighted on the 1st of July in the preceding year, when his Majesty, having caused him to be sent for into his royal presence, first declared him the head of the Board of Green Cloth,

where he had previously held only the third place, and then dubbed him, "contrary," his biographer affirms, "to his desires of avoiding such an instance of royal favour, whereof he professed himself altogether unworthy." Again, on the 14th of October 1666 we have Pepys recording a chance encounter they had, when Sir Stephen gladdened his heart by telling him how well he had acquitted himself in a late appearance he had made before a committee of the House of Commons, and expressing his conviction of how desirable it were that he should be in Parliament. Pepys would not admit that, but he confesses that he did secretly think there was some sense in the notion.

Sir Stephen had himself been returned about a year before this on a vacancy for the City of Salisbury. On the 14th of December the House did not rise till the somewhat late hour of three o'clock in the afternoon; and Fox then hurried home to dinner, taking his two friends with him. "There," Pepys writes, "I find his lady, a fine woman, and seven the prettiest children of theirs that ever I knew almost. A very genteel dinner, and in great state and fashion, and excellent discourse; and nothing like an old experienced man and a courtier, and such is the Cofferer Ashburnham." The progress of the species, among many other reforms, has carried us a great way beyond all this; but these primitive modes of life were not without their peculiar enjoyments and conveniences. Dinner was not in those days the be all and the end all of the afternoon's leisure. If it had been a summer evening, Fox and his two friends, after sitting over their wine and walnuts for a couple

of hours, would probably have been off to a succession of other recreations and amusements, some without doors, some within, and after all would have been both sound asleep in their own beds long before midnight.

Another of Pepys's notices, dated the 16th of January 1667, supplies us with some curious information touching Fox's financial operations and gains:—"Sir Stephen Fox, among other things, told me his whole mystery in the business of the interest he pays as Treasurer for the Army. They give him 12*d.* per pound quite through the army, with condition to be paid weekly. This he undertakes upon his own private credit, and to be paid by the King at the end of every four months. If the King pay him not at the end of every four months, then, for all the time he stays longer, my Lord Treasurer by agreement allows him eight per cent. per annum for the forbearance. So that, in fine, he hath about twelve per cent. from the King and the army for fifteen or sixteen months' interest; out of which he gains soundly, his expense [or the amount of his disbursements] being about £130,000 per annum; and hath no trouble in it, compared (as I told him) to the trouble I must have to bring in an account of interest." It was, in truth, a very good arrangement for the Paymaster; yet a great, if not the greater, part of what he made of it arose from the habitual irregularity and delay in the repayment of his advances by the Treasury. But for that he would have had simply five per cent. per annum upon the £130,000; of which, however, he never required to have in hand or in readiness more than between £2000 and £3000 at a time.

Although thus making so much of his profits out of the embarrassed state of the national finances, Fox would probably have been better pleased if the royal necessities had been less. Shortly after this, on the 4th of March, we have Pepys recording that, after dining with the Duke of Albemarle, surrounded by sorry company, dirty dishes, a nasty wife, and bad meat, of which he made but an ill dinner, he finished his rather doleful day by a friendly confabulation with Sir Stephen "of the sad condition of the King's purse and affairs thereby; and how sad the King's life must be, to pass by his officers every hour, that are four years behind-hand unpaid."

Pepys found the domesticities of the Clerk of the Green Cloth much more to his taste in all respects than those of the great military Duke. On the 14th of August 1668 he and Mr. Wren (afterwards Sir Christopher) dined by invitation with Fox; the Cofferer and Sir Edward Savage were the only other guests; they had many good stories of the antiquity and estates of many families in Cheshire and that part of the kingdom, beyond anything of the kind to be found near London; and, my lady dining with them, the Diarist winds up his record of the entertainment with the warmest expressions of satisfaction:—"a very good lady, and a family governed so nobly and neatly, as do me good to see it." After dinner he and the Cofferer and Sir Stephen all adjourned to the Treasury, and there dispatched some urgent business before going to bed.

That, however, was not the usual way of spending the evening after dining out. Another day, on which

Pepys and Ashburnham again met at their friend Fox's hospitable and well-ordered board, affords us a fairer example of the general practice. It was the 27th of September in the same year. Pepys, having repaired to the Park, there met Wren, when the two "walked together in the Pell-Mell, it being the most summer weather that ever was seen," talking of various things, especially of the corruption of the Court, that ever ready and fertile theme. "Thence," continues the Diarist, "he gone, I to the Queen's Chapel, and there heard some good singing; and so to Whitehall, and saw the King and Queen at dinner; and thence with Sir Stephen Fox to dinner, and the Cofferer with us; and there mighty kind usage and good discourse. Thence spent all the afternoon walking in the Park, and then in the evening at Court on the Queen's side."

In another entry, dated 15th February 1669, Fox's excellent wife is again noticed:—"To Whitehall, and there, by means of Mr. Cooling, did get into the play, the only one we have seen this winter; it was the 'Five Hours' Adventure;' but I sat so far I could not hear well, nor was there any pretty woman that I did see but my wife, who sat in my Lady Fox's pew with her; and late before done, so that it was past eleven before we got home." A handsome face, then, was not among my Lady Fox's good qualities.

She had by this time brought her husband several sons and daughters. The eldest son, Stephen, had been born in France, and also died there, before the Restoration; another, Charles, so named after the King, made his appearance in 1659; and there were

also a second Stephen, William, Edward, James, and John, besides three daughters, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Jane. Meanwhile all other earthly blessings continued to flow in upon the equally fortunate and deserving Clerk of the Green Cloth and Paymaster of the Army in the fullest and steadiest stream. "Notwithstanding," writes his biographer, "his amassment of great sums, (the just profits that arose from these two offices,) whereby he was enabled abundantly to provide for the exigencies of a family which seemed to promise a very numerous increase to it, and the support of many widows and orphans, whom he daily supplied and fed from a very plentiful and well-ordered table, yet such was his vast integrity in the discharge of both those trusts, such his justice and uncorrupted sincerity in making due disbursements for the maintenance of the Household and subsistence of the Army, that he was equally applauded and loved by both, and both the one and the other, during his employment in those capacities, had the satisfaction of finding the Court to be in no ways in arrear to them; the contrary of which they afterwards experienced, when he was removed to much higher stations."*

The testimony of his friend Evelyn is to the same effect, and furnishes us with some additional particulars. "Returning with his Majesty to England, after great wants and great sufferings," Evelyn proceeds in his rapid sketch of Fox's history up to the year 1680, already referred to, "his Majesty found him so honest and industrious, and withal so capable and ready, that,

* *Memoirs*, 101.

being advanced from Clerk of the Kitchen to that of the Green Cloth, he procured to be Paymaster to the whole Army, and, by his dexterity and punctual dealing, he obtained such credit among the bankers, that he was in a short time able to borrow vast sums of them upon any exigence. The continual turning thus of money, and the soldiers' moderate allowance to him, and his keeping trust with them, did so enrich him, that he is believed to be worth at least £200,000, honestly gotten and unenvied; which is next to a miracle. With all this, he continues as humble and ready to do a courtesy as ever he was. He is generous, and lives very honourably, of a sweet nature, well spoken, well bred, and is so highly in his Majesty's esteem, and so useful, that, being long since made a Knight, he is also advanced to be one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and has the reversion of the Cofferer's place after Henry Brouncker. He has married his eldest daughter to my Lord Cornwallis, and given her £12,000, and restored that entangled family besides. He matched his eldest son to Mistress Trollope, who brings with her, besides a great sum, near, if not altogether, £2000 per annum. Sir Stephen's lady, an excellent woman, is sister to Mr. Whittle, one of the King's chirurgeons. In a word, never was man more fortunate than Sir Stephen. He is an handsome person, virtuous, and very religious." *

* It would appear, however, from another of Evelyn's entries, though the fact has escaped Fox's biographer and the Peerage-writers, that he had at one time been turned out of his office of Paymaster. On the 14th of January 1682 Evelyn records that he dined with the Bishop of Rochester (Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York), and adds:—"He

To Charles the Second's Third Parliament, which met in 1679, Fox was returned for the City of Westminster; he did not serve either in the Fourth, which met in October 1680 and sat only about three months, or in the Fifth and last of that reign, which met in March 1681 and was dissolved in a week. Meanwhile he had in 1679 been raised to a political office by being made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, when Lawrence Lord Hyde (afterwards Earl of Rochester) was appointed First Lord. Upon this he resigned his place of Paymaster of the Forces, which, however, it was arranged should be held conjointly by his eldest son Charles, then only in his twentieth year, and one Nicholas Johnson, Esq.; and about three years afterwards, Johnson dying, Charles Fox was made sole Paymaster, as his father had formerly been. It was on his first appointment, as joint Paymaster, in 1679, that Charles married Miss Elizabeth Carr, only daughter and heir of Sir William Trollope, of Casewick, in the county of Lincoln, Baronet. Sir Stephen's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, had been married to Charles third Lord Cornwallis in 1673.

related to me, how earnestly the late Earl of Danby sought his friendship, and what plain and sincere advice he gave him from time to time about his miscarriages and partialities; particularly his ousting Sir John Duncombe from being Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Stephen Fox, above all, from Paymaster of the Army. The Treasurer's excuse and reason was, that Fox's credit was so over-great with the bankers and monied men, that he could procure none but by his means. For that reason, replied the Bishop, I would have made him my friend, Sir Stephen being a person both honest and of credit." By "the late Earl of Danby," can only here be meant the late Lord Treasurer Danby (afterwards Duke of Leeds), who was still living, and survived for many years after this. He became Treasurer in June 1673, and continued in office till 1679.

We are further told, that in 1679 Sir Stephen had the honour of being appointed First Commissioner, along with four others, for executing the distinguished office of Master of the Horse. But this post the writer of his life speaks of as having gone from him after some time, "by its devolution on one single person of the first quality." * He probably means Charles Duke of Richmond, the King's son, born in 1672, who was made Master of the Horse on the removal of the Duke of Monmouth from that and all his other employments in 1679. The office was put in commission during his minority; but neither Fox's name nor the others associated with it by his biographer are found in the common lists of the Commissioners.† Collins adds that Fox was made sole Commissioner on the 18th of February 1684;‡ but there can be no doubt that the year meant is 1685, after the accession of King James, when the Duke of Richmond was deprived of his office in revenge for the part that had been taken in the preceding reign by his mother, the Duchess of Portsmouth, in promoting the bill of exclusion.

In regard to certain other honours that were attempted to be thrust upon him Sir Stephen deemed it wise to assume the defensive. On the 5th of May 1681 the wife of the famous Earl of Sunderland, who was in her way as strange a character as her husband, came to Evelyn, with whom she had always maintained the friendliest relations, to request him to go to his friend Fox, and propose a match between his daughter

* *Memoirs*, 113. † See *Beatson*, I. 444; and *Collins, Peerage*, I. 184.
‡ *Peerage*, V. 369.

Mistress Jane and her son Lord Spencer. "I excused myself," Evelyn writes, "all I was able. She was now his only daughter, well bred [that is, well brought up and educated], and likely to receive a large share of her father's opulence. Lord Sunderland was much sunk in his estate by gaming and other prodigalities, and was now no longer Secretary of State, having fallen into the displeasure of the King for siding with the Commons about the succession; but this I am assured he did not do out of his own inclination, or for the preservation of the Protestant religion, but by mistaking the ability of the party to carry it. However, so earnest was my lady, that I did mention it to Sir Stephen, who said it was too great an honour, that his daughter was very young, as well as my lord, and he was resolved never to marry her without the parties' mutual liking; with other objections, which I neither would nor could contradict. He desired me to express to the Countess the great sense he had of the honour done him, that his daughter and her son were too young, and that he would do nothing without her liking, which he did not think her capable of expressing judiciously till she was sixteen or seventeen years of age, of which she now wanted four years, and that I would put it off as civilly as I could." It appears from this that Sir Stephen's second daughter, Margaret, was now dead; so that the date of her burial in Westminster Abbey given by Collins, the 8th of April 1687, must be wrong. Perhaps it should be 1681.*

* Fox's biographer, also, speaks of Lady Cornwallis, who died in 1682, as having been the last of the two daughters whom Sir Stephen lost in his lifetime.—*Memoirs*, 138.

He had also lost his fifth son, Edward, in his seventh year, in 1660; his seventh, John, in infancy, in 1667; his third, Stephen, in 1675; his sixth, James, in 1677, at the age of thirteen; and his fourth, William, in 1680, at that of twenty-three.* There remained only his second son, Charles, and his two daughters, Elizabeth Lady Cornwallis, and Jane. Lady Cornwallis died in 1682, leaving a son, from whom is descended the present Earl Cornwallis.†

Perhaps the fear, awakened by so many deaths, of being left altogether childless at last may have helped to turn Sir Stephen's thoughts to the dedication of part of his wealth to some public object. On the 14th of September 1681 he first communicated to Evelyn, who dined with him that day, a design of his Majesty to build "an Hospital or Infirmary for Soldiers" on the grounds of the old College at Chelsea, which had escheated to the Crown in the reign of James the First, and which that King had intended to make the residence of a body of Protestant Theo-

* *Collins*, V. 372.

† Elizabeth Fox's noble husband, if we may trust the *Mémoires de Grammont*, was a very different kind of character from his father-in-law. He was a great spendthrift, we are told, and fond of play, at which he would lose as much as you liked, but was not so ready at paying. Fox used to discharge his debts, giving him a lecture at the same time. Once Grammont had won ten or twelve hundred guineas of him, which, however, were not forthcoming, although the creditor was on the point of quitting England, and had taken a very particular leave of my Lord Cornwallis. In these circumstances, the Count, who was full of the most gentlemanly ways of refreshing the memories of such as were tardy in their payments, found himself obliged to stimulate his lordship with this brief billet:—"Remember the Count de Grammont, and do not forget the Chevalier Fox."

logians, whose especial business should be to defend the Reformation. The grounds had been lately granted to the Royal Society, of which Evelyn was a distinguished member, and the first step his Majesty proposed to take was to purchase them back. On the 27th of January following Evelyn writes:—"This evening Sir Stephen Fox acquainted me again with his Majesty's resolution of proceeding in the erection of a Royal Hospital for emerited soldiers on that spot of ground which the Royal Society had sold to his Majesty for £1300, and that he would settle £5000 per annum on it, and build to the value of £20,000, for the relief and reception of four companies, namely 400 men, to be as in a College or Monastery. I was, therefore, desired by Sir Stephen (who had not only the whole managing of this, but was, as I perceived, himself to be a grand benefactor, as well it became him, who had gotten so vast an estate by the soldiers) to assist him, and consult what method to cast it in as to the government. So, in his study, we set down the governor, steward, housekeeper, chirurgeon, cook, butler, gardener, porter, and other officers, with their several salaries and entertainments. I would needs have a library, and mentioned several books, since some soldiers might possibly be studious when they were at leisure to recollect. Thus we made the first calculations, and set down our thoughts, to be considered and digested better, to show his Majesty and the Archbishop. He also engaged me to consider of what laws and orders were fit for the government; which was to be, in every respect, as strict as in any religious convent."

There was a feeling, it would appear, that the place was holy ground, and that, although the divines had been displaced from the occupation or possession of it by the philosophers, and these, again, were to give way to the military (as if to symbolise the theory of human progress which traces the history and natural course of speculation as being from heaven to earth, or from what it calls dreams to realities, and makes the *ultima ratio* of all controversy to be material force), a show should still be attempted to be kept up of maintaining its original destination and essential character, under whatever novelty of form or aspect. On this occasion, too, as usual, the hours of business are rounded off with the hour of amusement:—"After supper," Evelyn goes on, "came in the famous treble Mr. Abel, newly returned from Italy; I never heard a more excellent voice; one would have sworn it had been a woman's, it was so high and so well and skilfully managed, being accompanied by Signor Francisco on the harpsichord." Whatever expensive elegancies most embellished English life were now to be found surrounding the former poor boy of Salisbury choir.

Evelyn has several more notices relating to this matter, which need not be quoted. Sir Stephen is said, in the Sermon preached at his funeral, to have been the first projector of the scheme, by which we must understand, apparently, that it was he who suggested it to the King. Popular tradition assigns that honour to Nell Gwynne. What made him think of it, Fox used to state, was, that he could not bear to see the common soldiers, who had spent their strength in our service,

begging at our doors. The amount contributed by him to the erection of the Hospital is asserted to have been above £13,000. His biographer affirms that he contributed the third part of the profits of his office of Paymaster, and that it was principally his example that induced other wealthy persons to come forward so liberally, the result of which was, that "what seemed to be the work of ages was finished, endowed, and inhabited in less than thirty years." *

Another undertaking which occupied him about the same date was the procuring a residence for himself out of London, but still not too far from town. At one time he was in treaty for the Countess of Bristol's house at Chelsea,—that is, the mansion afterwards known as Beaufort House (from the first Duke of Beaufort, by whom it was bought from Lady Bristol in 1682), being the same, as is generally supposed, that had belonged to Sir Thomas More. Evelyn, who had been requested by the Countess to procure a purchaser for it, offered it to his friend Fox in June 1679; and in the following November Sir Stephen had come up to within £500 of her ladyship's price. In the end, however, he built a house for himself at Chiswick. Here he had established himself by the spring of 1683. Under date of the 16th of May in that year Evelyn writes:—"I went to Windsor, dining by the way at Chiswick, at Sir Stephen Fox's, where I found Sir Robert Howard (that universal pretender), and Sighor Verrio, who brought his draught and designs for the painting of the staircase of Sir Stephen's new house." It is now

* *Memoirs*, 104.

pulled down; the site having been purchased about the beginning of the present century by the Devonshire family, and enclosed within the grounds of their mansion at Chiswick.

It was here probably that Evelyn dined again with Sir Stephen on the 2nd of January in the following year; when, as he has recorded, "after dinner came a fellow who ate live charcoal, glowingly ignited, quenching them in his mouth, and then champing and swallowing them down. There was a dog, also, which seemed to do many rational actions."

Here too, in all likelihood, it was that he dined by invitation on the 27th of October 1685, in company with "my Lord Lieutenant," that is, the second Earl of Clarendon, recently appointed to the government of Ireland. Nothing had been left undone by Sir Stephen to do honour to the son of his former great patron. There was "such a dinner for variety of all things," says Evelyn, "as I had seldom seen, and it was so for the trial of a master cook, whom Sir Stephen had recommended to go with his lordship into Ireland; there were all the dainties, not only of the season, but of what art could add, venison, plain solid meat, fowl, baked and boiled meats, banquet [desert], &c., in exceeding plenty and exquisitely dressed."

It is asserted by Fox's biographer, that, after the accession of James the Second, he refused "the title of a peer and a very high dignity," offered him on condition of his becoming a Roman Catholic. He lost his place of one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, on the Earl of Rochester being appointed Lord Treasurer, in

February 1685; but he was restored to it, it is said by the King's own act, and in opposition to his habitual advisers, on the dismission of his lordship in December of the following year. The royal displeasure, however, fell with great severity on his son Charles, who had been returned to the Parliament which met in May 1685 for Cricklade, while his father resumed his former seat for Salisbury. As the story is told in a pamphlet published in the reign of George the First, when the design for repealing the Test Act was brought forward Charles Fox was advised by his friends to absent himself from the debates, and did so for some time. "But, the day being come on which the question was to be put, he found such a concern growing upon him for the cause of the Church, that, moved by the impulse of his conscience, he could not be easy till he went to the Speaker's chamber. His coming thither occasioned his friends to be again importunate with him to withdraw himself, which he seemingly was inclined to; but, hearing the debates arising in the House, he could no longer contain himself, but went into it even after the question was put (a thing that was unusual, but then allowed), and carried it against the bill in the negative by his single voice; for which he was reprimanded by King James, and dismissed from his valuable employments."* The division here referred to took place on the 23rd of November 1685; there was no bill before the House; the question was the grant of a supply, and the common account makes it to have been negatived

* "The Case of the Church of England fairly stated;" quoted in *Memoirs*, 109—112.

by a majority of three, the numbers being 185 against 182.* The story of the majority being only one, however, is not only retailed by Burnet, but is confirmed by his accurate annotator, Speaker Onslow, who refers to the journals of the House.† Sir John Reresby says that Fox's place was estimated to be worth 10,000*l.* a year.‡

At the difficult and dangerous crisis of the Revolution Sir Stephen steered his course with his usual skill and success. He was well known to the Prince of Orange, who, it is related, when he visited England in July 1681, did the Clerk of the Green Cloth the honour of dining with him at Whitehall on the day of his arrival in London, before proceeding to Windsor, where the King then was. When he was urged, however, by his friend the Bishop of London to join in inviting the

* See *Parl. Hist.* iv. 1376; and Barillon's Dispatch, published in *Fox's James II.*, Appendix, p. clxxviii. "This," writes Barillon, "was occasioned by several persons attached to or dependent upon the Court being absent, and from some of those present even voting with the opposition, among others Mr. Fox, Paymaster of the Forces, whose father is an officer in the Household, and formerly had the post of Paymaster, in which he gained a large fortune. A lieutenant in the Horse Guards, of the name of Darcy, a person of rank, also voted with the opposition."

† See Burnet's *Own Time*, iii. 86 (edit. of Oxford, 1823).

‡ *Memoirs*, 224 (8vo, 1735):—"But things now (1685), with regard to those who enjoyed any posts under the government, seemed to be carried to a very extraordinary length; for Fox, the Paymaster of the Army, whose employ was valued at 10,000*l.* per annum, and Colonel John Darcy, grandchild and heir to the Earl of Holderness, having offended the King by their votes in the Lower House, and having been thereupon forbidden the King's presence, were now wholly laid aside; and it was now said that in council it had been agreed, that all persons who for the future offended in the same way would be served in the same manner, which startled a number of people."

Prince to come over, he requested to be excused from having a hand in any design against a sovereign whose bread, and that of his brother, he had so plentifully eaten of. He continued, after the arrival of the Prince at St. James's, to discharge the duties of his office; and even, it is stated, "yielded to the necessity of the times, by issuing monies out of the Exchequer for the subsistence of him and his troops." This he did, apparently, in his capacity of a Lord of the Treasury; but, it is added, he never appeared at his Highness's Court, to make his compliments there, till after King James had finally withdrawn himself and gone off to France. Collins asserts that he then concurred in voting the throne to be vacant, and that it should be filled by the Prince and Princess of Orange; but he was not a member of the Convention, in which these votes were passed. He was, however, re-appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury, and also First Clerk of the Green Cloth, in March 1689; and about the same time his son was restored to his valuable place of Paymaster of the Forces.

For some years after this the course of his life flowed on without any incident requiring commemoration. He retained his seat at the Treasury Board throughout the reign of King William; and he was also again returned for Westminster both to the Parliament which met in March 1690 and to that which met in November 1695. On the dissolution of the latter in 1698, having now reached the age of seventy and upwards, he retired from the House of Commons, of which he had been a member for more than thirty years. His only remain-

ing daughter Jane, who would be then in her sixteenth or seventeenth year, had been married in 1685 to George fourth Earl of Northampton.

Old as Sir Stephen now was, however, he had the most eventful portion of his allotted mortal span still to traverse. His wife, the not less loved than loving companion of all his fortunes, had died in August 1696, and the blow is said to have fallen far heavier upon him than any other he had yet sustained. He rallied from it, nevertheless, and it even proved eventually the circumstance that enabled him to begin a new and more enduring life in a line of descendants.

He had nearly completed his seventy-sixth year, when, as his biographer states the case, perceiving no likelihood that his only remaining son, who had been married for nearly a quarter of a century, would ever have any children, he began to think of taking another wife, in the idea that he was not yet too old to be the father of a second family. "Therefore," the narrative proceeds, "after he had duly weighed the consequences thereof, he fixed his choice upon a young gentlewoman, Mistress Margaret Hope, daughter of a clergyman of that name, of a good extraction, at Grantham, in Lincolnshire;* whom he had contracted a great esteem for from a long experience of her merit and virtue, which she gave repeated instances of in her conversation with his son's lady, to whom she was a very faithful companion. Her wit, her judgment, were so conspicuous in every thing she said or did, and she was so assiduous on all occa-

* According to *Collins* (v. 373) her father was the Rev. Charles Hope, of Nasely, in Lincolnshire.

sions in entertaining Sir Stephen, by reading books of devotion and history to him, that he was so taken with her that he at last broke his mind, and made her that honourable offer of his person and fortune, which the lady, who at the first motion took it to be only a piece of gallantry, was too discreet not to give her acceptance of."* The wedding of the hale old gentleman with his daughter-in-law's female attendant was solemnised some time in the year 1703.† Mrs. Charles Fox died in March of that same year; and, although her husband was still but little past middle age, he never married again, nor does it seem to have been supposed by any one that he would, or that he would leave issue if he did. He continued while he lived to sit in Parliament for Salisbury, but made no figure in public life, unless it were by a certain honest, though possibly somewhat narrow or sickly, scrupulosity, to which he was repeatedly a martyr. He got himself a second time turned out of his office of Paymaster of the Forces by opposing the Court in the reign of William, and, after having been restored to it on the accession of Anne, sacrificed it for the third time towards the end of her reign in the same way. At last he died in September 1713.

Old Sir Stephen, meanwhile, seemed to have renewed his age. Within twelve months after his marriage, his young wife was brought to bed of twin boys; and they were followed first by one daughter and then by another.

* *Memoirs*, 132.

† Reports, it appears, were spread abroad at the time that the father and son had quarrelled on account of Sir Stephen's marriage (*Memoirs*, 134). If they did, the difference was probably soon made up.

One of the daughters was killed while an infant, by falling out of a window; the other three children all grew up.

It appears to have been assumed, indeed, that the wonderful old man was never to wear out or to need repose. After the death of his son, although he was then in his eighty-fifth year, he was actually prevailed upon to let himself be elected again for Salisbury; and he served as one of the members for that city in the fourth and last Parliament of Queen Anne, which assembled in February 1714 and sat till it was dissolved by the death of the Queen in July following.

Soon after this, however, he began visibly to give way. Yet he did not think it necessary to make his will till May 1716, which would be after he had entered his eighty-ninth year. It was not signed till the 6th of August in that year; and he died in his house at Chiswick on Sunday the 28th of October, when he was within five months of the age of fourscore and ten.

A chief secret, both of Sir Stephen Fox's length of days, and of his success in life, appears to have been that serenity of temper and general sweetness of nature in the man, which, diffusing ever a mild sunshine within him and around him, both left him the freest use of his faculties in all circumstances and made it a pleasure to other men to have to do with him. A wise and thoughtful man, who took a right measure of himself and of all things, he did not expect too much from this human life of ours. "Shall I receive good from the hands of the Lord, and shall I not also receive evil?" was his favourite saying; and it expressed his fair and clear understanding

as well as his humble and pious disposition. With such views of what it was reasonable for him to look for in his earthly pilgrimage, nothing could befal him that he would not meet with resignation and firmness; and he could not but feel that, upon the whole, his life had been a far more prosperous one than he had had at its commencement any right to count or to hope that it would be. He was not the man to repine because he had had some of those natural sorrows that come to all along with so many blessings that few shared with him.

The only heavy clouds that had dimmed his sky had been the deaths of his children; of Job's number of seven sons and three daughters, all, except only one daughter, were taken away, and no issue of any of his sons remained. It seemed, almost, as if, having accumulated the most splendid fortune of his time, he was to have none to inherit it,—none, at least, who were to take from him their name and lineage. But herein, too, something not unlike the miraculous lot of the Patriarch of Uz was his. Two more sons and as many daughters were born to him after he had attained an age exceeding, by a good many years, the ordinary limit of human existence. And both these latest born sons of the poor singing boy of Salisbury choir rose to be peers of the realm, and founded noble families, which still subsist among us. Stephen, the eldest, who, in 1736, assumed the name of Strangeways, in addition to that of Fox, on his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Strangeways Horner, of Mells Park, in the county of Somerset, Esquire, was created Baron Ilchester in

1741, and Earl of Ilchester in 1756. The present Earl is his grandson. Henry, Sir Stephen's youngest son, again, was the first Lord Holland; the Barony was first conferred, in 1762, upon his wife, who was the eldest daughter of Charles second Duke of Richmond, and, in the following year, with a slight variation, upon himself. The great Whig leader, Charles James Fox, was the second son of this first Lord Holland, and consequently the grandson of Sir Stephen. The late Lord Holland, who, having come to the title when little more than a twelvemonth old, bore it for sixty-six years, and was, for a great part of that time, so conspicuous a figure in politics, literature, and society, and who was in 1840 succeeded by his son, was only the third in descent from Charles the Second's Clerk of the Kitchen.

Charlotte, the one of Sir Stephen's two daughters by his second marriage who grew up, became the wife of the Honourable Edward Digby, second son of William Lord Digby, and survived till 1778. His other daughter, Jane, who married the fourth Earl of Northampton, was the mother of the fifth and sixth Earls, and the grandmother of the seventh and eighth; and her representative is the present Marquis of Northampton.

We cannot more fitly wind up our account of Sir Stephen than in the words of Collins, borrowed in part from the Sermon preached at his funeral by Canon Eyre:—"He had the comfort and happiness, to the conclusion of his life, not to be afflicted with any of the infirmities of old age, which could make him the least burthensome either to himself, his friends, or his servants. It must be owned, Wisdom doth not bestow

the same happiness to every one that findeth her, but distributes to them their portion in a very different measure, with more reason than we are able to discern. Her bounty to him was as if she emptied both her hands and held back nothing from him. He had the blessing of her right hand in the length of his days; and he had those of her left hand in his riches and preferments."

Sir Stephen's widow, though she must have been her husband's junior by many years, did not long survive him. Her death took place on the 21st of February 1718. In his will Sir Stephen had appointed her his sole executrix and the guardian of their three children during their minority, confiding, as he said, in her care and prudent management, of which he declared he had had ample experience. The husband and his two wives lie interred together in the church of his native Farley, which he had entirely rebuilt. There, also, are a Charity School, and an Hospital for a number of old men and women, both of his founding.

THE FOUNDER OF THE HOUSE OF PHIPS.

ANOTHER of our existing noble names, and one which has attained a higher place in the peerage than that of Fox, is traced to an equally recent and still more obscure and humble beginning.

The life of the first Phips has fortunately been handed down to us with considerable fulness of detail by a person to whom he was intimately known, and who was well qualified by his talents as a writer to do justice to his subject. The much shorter account for which room can be made here must be little more than an abstract from his quaint, yet on the whole sensible and animated, narrative.*

* It is entitled "Pietas in Patriam: The Life of His Excellency Sir William Phips, Knt., late Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of the Massachuset Bay, New England; . . . written by one intimately acquainted with him." It was first printed separately, in 16mo, at London, in 1697; and it is reprinted in the Second Book of the Reverend Cotton Mather's "Magnalia Christi Americana; or Ecclesiastical History of New England," fol. Lond. 1702. It was in all probability written by Mather, who was a minister in Boston. Its first editor was his uncle, the Reverend Nathaniel Mather, who was a nonconformist clergyman, first in Dublin and afterwards in London. It is dedicated by him, in an address dated 27th April 1697, to the Earl of Bellamont, then about to sail for New England, of which he had been appointed Governor; and is introduced by a short recommendation, bearing the same date, and subscribed by Nath. Mather, John Howe, and Matth. Mead,

It was on the 2nd of February 1651 that "this our Phips," as his biographer styles him, was born "at a despicable plantation on the river of Kennebek, and almost the furthest village of the eastern settlement of New England." Governor Hutchinson, in his *History of Massachuset's Bay*, gives Pernaquid as his birthplace. His father was James Phips, formerly a gunsmith in Bristol, that is, a working gunsmith, apparently. "His fruitful mother, yet living," his original historian proceeds, "had no less than twenty-six children, whereof twenty-one were sons; but equivalent to them all was William, one of the youngest, whom his father dying left young with his mother; and with her he lived, keeping of sheep in the wilderness, until he was eighteen years old; at which time he began to feel some further dispositions of mind, from that providence of God which took him from the sheepfolds, from following the ewes great with young, and brought him to feed his people. Reader, inquire no further who was his father. Thou shalt anon see that he was, as the Italians express it, a son to his own labours."

It is rather remarkable that of so many brothers and sisters, twenty of the former and five of the latter, we do not throughout the biography of our hero encounter the name or come upon the slightest distinct trace of a single one. Nor is any further mention made of his mother; who was, however, still living, as we have just seen, in 1702. It is also to be noted that, although

in which the author is declared to be "a person of such well-known integrity, prudence, and veracity, that there is not any cause to question the truth of what he here relates."

he was known by the name of William, it afterwards appears he grew up without ever having been baptized. Probably at this early date clergymen were scarce on the banks of the Kennebec.

Nor were the providential incitements with which he was visited at eighteen at all of a religious character. His friends would have had him to remain among them in his native district; "but he had an unaccountable impulse upon his mind, persuading him, as he would privately hint unto some of them, that he was born to greater matters." So, binding himself an apprentice for four years to a ship-carpenter, he became in that time an expert workman, and then betook himself to Boston, the capital of New England, and already a place of considerable commerce and general activity. Here he followed his trade for about a year, and at the same time had himself taught reading and writing; for the schoolmaster had not found his way as yet, any more than the clergyman, to the rude and scattered population about the Kennebec, and the shepherd boy had made acquaintance with neither of these accomplishments, nor probably had he had the means of putting himself to school while serving his apprenticeship. But it was the first thing that he did when he became his own master at the age of three-and-twenty. It is not clear that he was not, upon the whole, a gainer by having thus been taught a good many other things before he took to learning his letters; and possibly a similar postponement of the literary part of education might be found to have its advantages in other cases. The alphabet is universally assumed to be the beginning

of wisdom; but there is a great deal of useful and highly important knowledge and dexterity to which that instrument is no help whatever, and which is just as well suited for being acquired in childhood as the alphabet. On the other hand, that would perhaps be often more profitably studied at the age of fifteen or twenty than at that of five or six.

To Phips, however, it mattered little what it was that he took in hand, or in what order he passed from one thing to another. He had in him the genius of acquisition and conquest; and, having now mastered first ship-carpentry, and then reading and writing, he forthwith set to work to raise himself another step by a judicious matrimonial arrangement. Accordingly, we are told, he so recommended himself "by a laudable deportment," that he won the heart and hand of "a young gentlewoman of good repute, who was the widow of one Mr. John Hull, a well-bred merchant, but the daughter of one Captain Roger Spencer, a person of good fashion," who, it is added, had "suffered much damage in his estate by some unkind and unjust actions, which he bore with such patience, that, for fear of thereby injuring the public, he would not seek satisfaction." Mrs. Hull, therefore, had probably inherited little or nothing from her father. Nor does she appear to have been left in very plentiful circumstances by her first husband.

Still, were it only from the connexions of the lady, this marriage must have been a promotion into quite a new social grade for the working carpenter. But Phips, for all his plebeian parentage, was a born notable, or

noble, and both by his mental and by his external endowments fitted for any station. "Know then," writes his biographer further on, in proceeding to set before us a picture of his person, "that, for his exterior, he was one tall beyond the common set of men, and thick as well as tall, and strong as well as thick; he was in all respects exceedingly robust, and able to conquer such difficulties of diet and of travel as would have killed most men alive; nor did the fat, whereinto he grew very much in his later years, take away the vigour of his motions. He was well-set, and he was therewithal of a very comely though a very manly countenance; a countenance where any true skill in physiognomy would have read the characters of a generous mind." And the most conspicuous point of his character, it is further affirmed, was indeed "a most incomparable generosity." This was shown throughout his life both in a hatred of everything dirty or little, and in so forgiving a spirit that his biographer had never known three men in this world that equalled him in that respect. If he was insulted, indeed, he would show choler enough on the instant, sometimes "by blow as well as by word," and was "sufficiently impatient of being put upon;" but "he ever declined a deliberate revenge of a wrong." The well-connected widow, if she was looking out for a second mate, might have waited long before she had found another so essentially a gentleman as this son of the Bristol gunsmith.

Phips now set up as a master in the business in which he had hitherto been only a workman; and his

first undertaking was an agreement with some merchants of Boston to build them a ship on the river Sheepscote, a stream flowing into the Atlantic two or three leagues to the eastward of his paternal Kennebec. This turned out an unfortunate adventure; but Phips's conduct redounded to his honour. The vessel was nearly finished when the Indians attacked the settlement, and the inhabitants were only enabled to save themselves by flying to the harbour where it lay and getting on board of it; whereupon Phips was obliged to leave behind him a lading of lumber which he had provided, and to put to sea instead with no other cargo than his old neighbours and their families, none of whom were able to pay him or the owners a penny for their passage to Boston. "So the first action he did after he was his own man," observes his biographer, "was to save his father's house, with the rest of the neighbourhood, from ruin; but the disappointment which befel him from the loss of his other lading plunged his affairs into greater embarrassments with such as had employed him." From these expressions it may be inferred that some of his brothers or sisters, as well as his mother, were among the rescued people.

But Phips, a son of earth no less than the old giant Antæus, was the sort of man to get only new strength from being thus thrown to the ground. "He was hitherto," proceeds the eloquent narrator of his exploits, and sympathising follower of his fortunes, "no more than beginning to make scaffolds for further and higher actions. He would frequently tell the gentlewoman his wife that he should yet be Captain of a

King's ship; that he should come to have the command of better men than he was now accounted himself; and that he should be owner of a fair brick house in the Green Lane of North Boston; and that, it may be, this would not be all that the providence of God would bring him to. She entertained these passages with a sufficient incredulity; but he had so serious and positive an expectation of them, that it is not easy to say what was the original thereof. He was of an enterprising genius, and naturally disdained littleness; but his disposition for business was of the Dutch mould, where, with a little show of wit, there is as much wisdom demonstrated as can be shown by any nation. His talent lay not in the airs that serve chiefly for the pleasant and sudden turns of conversation; but he might say, as Themistocles, though he could not play upon a fiddle, yet he knew how to make a little city become a great one. He would prudently contrive a weighty undertaking, and then patiently pursue it unto the end. He was of an inclination cutting rather like a hatchet than like a razor; he would propose very considerable matters to himself, and then so cut through them that no difficulties could put by the edge of his resolutions." Yes; it is evident that he was all this; considerate as well as enterprising; patient and persevering as well as ardent and bold; having a head to contrive as well as a hand to execute; and, moreover, with all his hopeful and soaring spirit, and his natural disdain of everything little, equanimity for any fortune, and the good sense that would still sit down in peace and contentment in the Green Lane of North Boston,

if Heaven should award him nothing better than the lordship of a fair brick house there.

It must have been about this time of his life, too, that his mind first took a religious turn. An account of the matter in his own words, which his biographer gives in another place, assigns the change to the year 1674. In that year, he expressly says, he was first made sensible of his sins, by hearing a sermon on the subject of "the day of trouble near." "It pleased Almighty God," he adds, "to smite me with a deep sense of my miserable condition, who had lived until then in the world and had done nothing for God. I did then begin to think what I should do to be saved; and did bewail my youthful days, which I had spent in vain. I did think that I would begin to mind the things of God." After he had been for some time a hearer of the minister whose sermon had thus awakened him, much troubled with his burthen, as he puts it, but thinking on that Scripture, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest," he had some thoughts of drawing as near to the communion of the Lord Jesus as he could; but the ruin which the Indian wars brought on his affairs, and other entanglements in which his subsequent occupations and pursuits involved him, hindered him from pursuing the welfare of his own soul as he ought to have done. It would appear, then, that his disastrous ship-building speculation at Sheepscote river is to be dated, at the earliest, some time after the commencement of the year 1674; and it occurred, we are told, "within a little while after his marriage," which therefore is

probably to be assigned to the early part of that year, or the close of the preceding one.

How he went on for some time is not told; some laborious years were probably given to the exertions necessary to extricate himself from his pecuniary difficulties; at length he determined to leave the building of ships to others, and to try what he could do in the navigation and command of one, looking upon the sea, his biographer intimates, as the right scene for great things, and therefore as his proper field. He began with a voyage to the Bahamas, where he had heard of the existence of a Spanish wreck;, but out of this adventure he made little more than what just sufficed to enable him to make a voyage to England; whither he next repaired "in a vessel not much unlike that which the Dutchmen stamped on their first coin, with these words above it, *Incertum quo fata ferant.*" He had obtained information that there was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Bahamas another Spanish wreck, "wherein was lost a mighty treasure hitherto undiscovered;" and, having a strong impression upon his mind that he was destined to be the discoverer, he hoped to be able to persuade some persons of wealth in England to advance the necessary funds, and, all unknown as he had hitherto been, to get himself appointed to conduct the search under a commission from the Government.

From the next date that is given, an interval of eight or nine years appears to have elapsed between the misadventure at the Sheepscote river and the period at which we are now arrived. It was, we are told, in the

year 1683 that Phips, by the success of the representations of his design that he had made at Whitehall, found himself the Captain of a King's ship, and "arrived at New England Commander of the Algier Rose, a frigate of eighteen guns and ninety-five men." Thus provided, he appears to have immediately proceeded in quest of the sunken treasure. He sought for it long in vain; but no disappointments or difficulties had power to turn him from his object. "He that cannot suffer both good and evil," says the Spartan proverb, "will never come to any great preferment." Once his men, losing all hope, rose in mutiny, and, assembling on the quarter-deck with their swords drawn, demanded that he should join with them in running off with the ship, and take to the trade of piracy on the South Seas. Phips "had not so much of a weapon as an ox-goad or a jaw-bone in his hands; yet, like another Shamgar or Samson, with a most undaunted fortitude he rushed in upon them, and with the blows of his bare hands felled many of them, and quelled all the rest." Courage is a match for almost any odds, in fighting and in all things; to him who has no fear hardly anything is impossible. Some time after this, while the frigate lay careening at a distant Spanish island by the side of a rock, all the men, with the exception of only eight or ten, went ashore on pretence of taking a ramble in the woods, and then signed a round-robin, binding themselves to one another to seize the Captain and those who were with him, and, leaving them on the island, take possession of the ship for themselves. It was thought indispensable,

however, that they should have the carpenter with them; so they sent a message to fetch him from the vessel, where he was at work. With great difficulty he prevailed upon them to give him half an hour to consider of the matter, and to let him return for that space to the ship with one of them to look after him. Watched as he was, he contrived to obtain an instant's communication with the Captain. Phips's measures were quickly taken; by good luck the gunner was one of those who were left with him, and who all agreed to stand by him. The provisions were ashore in a tent, defended by several pieces of artillery in case the Spaniards might have made their appearance; these he directed to be quietly drawn and turned; and then, pulling up the gangway which connected the ship with the land, he charged the great guns he had on board, and pointed them against the tent. The carpenter, meanwhile, had, by his direction, rejoined the mutineers. Scarcely had the preparations for their reception been completed, when they were seen issuing in a body from the woods. As they drew near to the tent, however, observing the altered position of the guns, they halted, exclaiming to one another that they were betrayed. "Stand off, ye wretches, at your peril!" called out the Captain with a stern voice. They all instantly fell upon their knees, protesting that the only part of his conduct with which they had been dissatisfied was his refusal to turn pirate, and that for everything else they would choose rather to live and die with him than with any other man in the world. In the end, after he had secured their arms, he consented to receive them on

board; but he deemed it prudent immediately to weigh anchor and sail for Jamaica, where, as soon as he got into port, he turned them all off, and supplied their places with another crew, somewhat smaller in number. With these he proceeded to Hispaniola, and there, "by the policy of his address," he contrived to worm out from a very old man, a Spaniard or Portuguese, some little further information as to where the lost treasure-ship lay. He was told that it had been wrecked upon a reef of shoals a few leagues from that island, and to the northward of Port de la Plata, which had got its name from some of the crew having landed there with a boat full of plate saved out of the sinking vessel. Still, though he searched narrowly, he failed to light upon the spot. After some time, too, he found that his new men were not to be relied upon. So he resolved for the present to return to England.

There, we are told, "so proper was his behaviour, that the best noblemen in the kingdom now admitted him into their conversation." Yet he was also opposed by powerful enemies, and met with such delays and disappointments as would have entirely discouraged him if his patience had been less than invincible. But "he who can wait hath what he desireth." At last, having prevailed upon the Duke of Albemarle, and some other persons of quality, to run the pecuniary risk of the adventure, "he set sail for the fishing ground which had been so well baited half an hundred years before,"—so long had the mass of treasure lain hidden in the depths of the sea. It is further intimated that he invented many of the instruments necessary

for the prosecution of his design. This is the only hint that we have in the memoir in support of the tradition which assigns to Phips the invention of the diving bell. It is probable that he may have made some improvement on a contrivance of that nature previously in use.* Besides the ship in which he sailed, he took a tender out with him; and, when he reached Port de la Plata, he had a large cotton tree hollowed out into a canoe, or periaga, which carried eight or ten oars, and in the fabrication of which it is noted that "he did, with the same industry that he did everything else, employ his own hand and adze, and endure no little hardship, lying abroad in the woods many nights together." The periaga and the tender were now anchored in the neighbourhood of the shoals, which were known by the name of the Boilers, and rose to within two or three feet of the surface of the water, but were yet so steep "that," exclaims one author, "a ship striking on them would immediately sink down, who could say how many fathom into the ocean?"

For a long time the men sent out in the periaga could make nothing of all their "peeping among the Boilers." But at last one of them, looking down into the calm water, perceived a plant or weed called a sea-feather growing, as he thought, out of a rock, and desired one of the Indians to dive and fetch it up, that they might not return to their master quite empty-

* Anderson, in his *Origin of Commerce* (ii. 550), makes mention, under the year 1680, of "a diving machine, or engine," used (he does not say invented) by Phips, as one of several new projects which were in that year patronised by Prince Rupert. He quotes no authority. It must have been in 1684 or 1685 that Phips set out on his present expedition.

handed. "The diver, bringing up the feather, brought therewithal a surprising story, — that he perceived a number of great guns in the watery world where he had found his feather; the report of which great guns exceedingly astonished the whole company, and at once turned their despondencies for their ill success into assurances that they had now hit upon the true spot of ground which they had been looking for; and they were further confirmed in these assurances, when, upon further diving, the Indian fetched up a *sow*, as they styled it, or a lump of silver, worth perhaps two or three hundred pounds." Fixing a buoy to mark the place, they now made their way back to the ship, and for some time reported nothing but their anxious explorations and constant failures. "Nevertheless, they so slipped in the sow of silver on one side under the table, where they were now sitting with the Captain, and hearing him express his resolution to wait still patiently upon the providence of God under these disappointments, that when he should look on one side he might see that odd thing before him. At last he saw it. Seeing it, he cried out, with some agony, 'Why, what is this? Whence comes this?' And then, with changed countenances, they told him how and where they got it. 'Then,' said he, 'thanks be to God, we are made.'"

Away they now went all hands to work. In no long time, without the loss of a man, they had brought up thirty-two tons of silver, besides six tons which were raised and appropriated by a Captain Adderly, of Providence, whom Phips had engaged to help him, and

who had accordingly arrived with a small vessel manned by a few hands. Upon much of the coined silver, it is mentioned, there was grown a crust like limestone, several inches thick, which they broke open with iron instruments contrived for the purpose, when whole bushels of rusty pieces of eight would come tumbling out. There were also great quantities of gold, pearls, and other precious stones. In fine, the treasure recovered by Phips and his company is stated to have amounted in value to very nearly £300,000 sterling, although they were forced to leave, by their provisions failing them, before they had completely rifled the sunk ship, and considerable gleanings were gathered by others after they had made their harvest.

The richness of his prize, however, had made Phips's chief difficulty in securing it. His men, seeing "such vast litters of silver sows and pigs come on board," were naturally little disposed to be satisfied with ordinary seamen's wages: there was even the greatest danger that they might be tempted to seize the whole for themselves, and he was kept in continual apprehension of all his long labours, and the good fortune that had crowned them, ending in such a catastrophe. "In this terrible distress," we are told, "he made his vows unto Almighty God, that if the Lord would carry him safe home to England with what he had now given him, to suck of the abundance of the seas and of the treasures hid in the sands, he would for ever devote himself unto the interests of the Lord Jesus Christ and of his people, especially in the country which he did himself originally belong unto." And, besides

applying himself by every obliging art to gain the attachment of his men, he assured them that their fidelity should be requited by an ample addition to their regular wages, even if he should have to distribute his own share among them. His fulfilment of this promise, and his scrupulous care that his employers also should have their due to the utmost farthing, left him in the end, out of £300,000, less than £16,000 for himself. The Duke of Albemarle, the principal adventurer, was so well satisfied that he begged Phips to accept, as a present for his wife, a gold cup of the value of nearly £1000. Nor should the conduct of the King be passed over: it was now the year 1687, and James the Second was on the throne. A want of the sense of justice was not among the defects of that infatuated prince; and when he was urged by some about him not to rest contented with the tithe of what Phips had brought home (to which, it would seem, the terms of the patent, or perhaps the prerogative of the crown, entitled him), but to seize the whole on the pretence that the patent had been granted on a false or insufficient representation of the facts of the case, he replied, we are told, "that he had been rightly informed by Captain Phips of the whole matter, as it now proved; and that it was the slanders of one then present which had, unto his damage, hindered him from hearkening to the information; wherefore he would give them, he said, no disturbance. They might keep what they had got; but Captain Phips, he saw, was a person of that honesty, fidelity, and ability, that he should not want his countenance."

Accordingly his Majesty forthwith conferred upon Phips the honour of knighthood. "Reader, now make a pause," ejaculates his pious biographer, "and behold one raised by God!"

He was now, indeed, in his own phrase, a made man. It was not merely the little fortune that he had acquired, although, having raised himself so far from nothing, he might well hope to rise higher from his present comparatively advantageous position. The reputation for capacity that he had established by his adventure was likely to prove still more serviceable than the money it had yielded him. It was perceived and acknowledged by every one that his success was much more the result of merit than of luck. He was evidently a man to be secured and employed where any real work was to be done. Besides other favourable opportunities that he had of settling himself in England, he was offered by the government, or the court, one of the Commissionerships of the Navy, a place in which great gains were to be made in those days; but his determination had been all along to return to his native country. King James, among his other arbitrary and insane proceedings, had thought fit to deprive New England of its charter, on pretences which may possibly have been legal, but were not the better for that. Phips meanwhile, it seems, was become such a favourite, that, one day when his Majesty was particularly gracious to him, he ventured to request, as all the favour he should desire for himself, that the province might have its lost liberties restored. "Anything but that!" replied James. Some time after, however, he obtained a

patent constituting him High Sheriff of New England, which gave him the important power of nominating juries; and with that he returned to America in the summer of 1688. On his way he made another visit to the sunk treasure-ship in company with Sir John Narborough, and, although it was of course not so productive as that of the preceding year, it probably made a handsome addition to his sixteen thousand pounds. Then, proceeding to Boston, he rejoined his wife there after five years' separation; and, by way of entertaining her with some visible and substantial accomplishment of his old predictions, immediately set about constructing for himself a fair brick house in the Green Lane.

Even if the misgovernment of James had not exploded in a revolution at home, it would probably have produced one in the Transatlantic possessions of the crown; and American independence might have been a century older than it is. The commencement and progress of the insurrectionary movement in New England at this date make a curious chapter of our national history, but cannot be entered upon here. Sir William Phips had no part in the very decided measures to which the colonists found themselves compelled to resort. He had been at home but a few weeks when he deemed it necessary to repair once more to the mother country for the purpose of defending his patent, which the provincial government would not suffer him to act upon. He was in London during the short and unequal contest between the witless old King, forsaken by all the world, and his energetic son-in-law, who,

invited, if not by the nation, at any rate by the only active part of it, came with an army at his back to drive him from the throne. It is hardly necessary to say that Phips was neither inactive nor inefficient in pleading the cause of his American fellow-countrymen with the new government. In the spring of 1689 he again set sail across the Atlantic, well instructed in the views of the most influential parties at the centre of affairs as to the best course for the colonists to pursue. It is asserted that before he left London a messenger from the abdicated King brought him a tender of the government of the province; but he wisely resisted the temptation.

About a year after this, namely on the 23rd of March 1690, he at length had himself baptised, being now of the age of nine-and-thirty. The ceremony was performed in the church of North Boston. It was upon this occasion that he presented to the pastor of the church, who was the Reverend Cotton Mather, the written history of the growth of his religious convictions which has been already referred to. The various providences, he declared in that paper, both merciful and afflictive, which had attended him in his travels, had been sanctified to him in such wise as to make him acknowledge God in all his ways. "I have divers times," he said, "been in danger of my life, and I have been brought to see that I owe my life to him that has given a life so often to me." As soon as God had blessed him with a prosperous turn of his affairs he had taken a solemn vow that he would apply himself to serve the Lord's people and churches on this

his native soil to the utmost of his capacity. "I knew," he continued, "that, if God had a people anywhere, it was here; and I resolved to rise and fall with them; neglecting very great advantages for my worldly interest, that I might come and enjoy the ordinances of the Lord Jesus here. It has been my trouble that, since I came home, I have made no more haste to get into the house of God, where I desire to be; especially having heard so much about the evil of that omission." His being born in a part of the country where he had not had an opportunity of participating in his infancy in the first sacrament of the New Testament had been something of a stumbling-block to him; and, since he had grown up, although he had proffers of baptism elsewhere, he had resolved rather to defer the rite till he might enjoy it in the communion of the New England churches.

Frequently, "about, before, and after this time," his biographer had heard him express himself in some such words as the following:—"I have no need at all to look after any further advantages for myself in this world; I may sit still at home if I will, and enjoy my ease for the rest of my life; but I believe that I should offend God in my doing so; for I am now in the prime of my age and strength, and, I thank God, I can undergo hardship; He only knows how long I have to live; but I think 'tis my duty to venture my life in doing of good, before an useless old age comes upon me: wherefore I will now expose myself while I am able, and as far as I am able, for the service of my country. I was born for others, as well as myself." In this high and generous

spirit he now made an offer to the General Court of the Colony of Massachusets of both his person and estate, so far as they should see cause to make use of them, for the public service in an expedition against the French settlements of Acadia and Nôva Scotia, under the protection of the authorities in which the Indians were accustomed to issue from their inaccessible swamps for the plunder and devastation of the English frontiers. Sir William was thereupon placed in command of a body of above 700 men, with which he set sail from Nantascot on one of the last days of April 1690. The fort of Port Royal, before which he sat down, surrendered without firing a gun; when Sir William took formal possession of the province for the English crown, and, having demolished the fort and compelled the planters to swear allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, got back to Massachusets by the end of May, preceded, however, by the news of his success, which his fellow-citizens had already rewarded two days before he made his appearance by electing him to a seat in the magistracy of the colony.

This exploit was followed up the same year by a much bolder and grander attempt—the greatest, indeed, Phips's historian remarks, ever ventured upon by the New Englanders—being nothing less than the dispatch of an armament for the conquest of Canada. Sir William set sail from Hull on the 9th of August, at the head of a fleet of thirty-two ships and tenders, which was to attack Quebec, while a land force of a thousand English and fifteen hundred Indians, from New York, Albany, and Connecticut, was to proceed over-land and

fall upon Montreal. But this enterprise, apparently in great part owing to the want of proper combination between the two forces, entirely miscarried. Quebec was vigorously assaulted by Phips, but, after persevering for some days, on a storm arising and scattering his ships in addition to his other difficulties, he was compelled to retire, greatly mortified by the failure of a design which his mind was as much set upon as it had been upon any other in which he had ever engaged. He arrived at Boston on the 19th of November, and no doubt met with a different reception from what he had had six months before. But, it is observed, "although he found himself, as well as the public, thrown into very uneasy circumstances, yet he had this to comfort him, that neither his courage nor his conduct could reasonably have been taxed; nor could it be said that any man could have done more than he did under so many embarrassments." He, himself, we are further told, though he had been used to diving in his time, would say, that the things which had befallen him in this expedition were too deep to be dived into.

One result of which the public disaster is stated to have been productive is worth noting. It left the New Englanders about £40,000 in debt, and not a penny in the treasury to pay it with. "In this extremity," writes the historian of these occurrences, "they presently found out an expedient, which may serve as an example for any people in other parts of the world, whose distresses may call for a sudden supply of money to carry them through any important expedition." After the General Assembly of the Colony had passed

an act for levying taxes to a certain amount within a specified time, "there was appointed an able and faithful committee of gentlemen, who printed from copper-plates a just number of bills, and flourished, indented, and contrived them in such a manner as to make it impossible to counterfeit any of them without a speedy discovery of the counterfeit; besides which, they were all signed by the hands of three belonging to that committee." They were issued for various sums from two shillings up to ten pounds. Here, then, was in fact the invention of Exchequer Bills, commonly stated to have been first issued in England in 1696, during the great recoinage of the silver money, on the suggestion of Charles Montagu (afterwards Lord Halifax), who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. Montagu was probably indebted for the idea to the sharp New Englanders.* With them the experiment was not perfectly successful in the particular circumstances in which it was first tried. Had there been no doubt about the stability of the new settlement in the mother country, our historian is of opinion that their brilliant invention had been of more use to them "than if all their copper mines had been opened, or the mountains of Peru had been removed into these parts of America;" but, in the uncertainty in which people were as to whether a change of govern-

* "Barbadoes," says Governor Hutchinson, "was the first which followed the example. Mr. Woodbridge, a New England man, was the projector. . . . It may be made a query, whether the project of a land-bank in England in the reign of King William, which entirely failed, was not taken from this expedient of New England."—*History of Massachusets Bay* (Vol. I.), 8vo. Lon. 1765; p. 402, *note*.

ment might not in a few months or weeks convert their bills of credit into waste paper, not even the advantage they enjoyed of being received in payment of taxes at five per cent. above their nominal value could preserve them at par, and those who first took them were losers to the extent of from four to six shillings in the pound. Among those who came forward most readily and liberally to support public credit in this emergency, Sir William Phips, as may be supposed, was one. The paper money, however, carried the colony through its difficulties; the soldiers and sailors engaged in the late expedition, who were upon the point of mutiny, were immediately paid in that factitious currency; "ere many months were expired, the Governor and Council had the pleasure of seeing the Treasurer burn before their eyes many a thousand 'pounds' worth of the bills;" and in no long time the debt, which had so much frightened them at first, was all discharged. The loss of money had been nearly all; there had been very little blood spilt in the attack made upon Quebec,—a circumstance which our enthusiastic historian is inclined to attribute to the churches, upon the call of the Government, having not only imposed a general fast throughout the colony for the welfare of the army while there engaged, but also "kept the wheel of prayer in a continual motion," to quote his very mechanical metaphor,—taken, perhaps, from the practice of some of the Mahometan negro tribes of Africa, who are said to perform their devotions, not by repeating the proper prayers, which might be too severe a tax upon their powers of memory, but

by turning a wheel, upon which they are inscribed with chalk, a certain number of times in a vessel of water, and then swallowing the liquid thus sanctified and enriched.

Of the thirty-two vessels composing the expedition, one of which, the Admiral (named *The Six Friends*), carried forty-four great guns and two hundred men, several were lost with all on board. One was stranded on the desolate isle of Anticosti, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and an interesting account is given of the preservation and eventual rescue of a small remnant of the crew, after tidings of their situation had been brought to Boston by five of their number, who had made their way thither in a small boat, in which they were tossed about with scarcely any provisions from the 25th of March to the 9th of May. The learned writer is particularly unctuous in describing the "amazing and, indeed, murderous villany" of "a wicked Irishman among them, who had such a voracious devil in him, that, after divers burglaries upon the store-house committed by him, at last he stole and eat with such a pamphagous fury, as to cram himself with no less than eighteen biscuits at one stolen meal." He was fain to have himself well fomented, and rubbed before the fire, to prevent his bursting.

But, severe as was the check he had met with, Phips was not to be either cast down by it or driven from his purpose. As it was said by the unhappy Mary Tudor that *Calais* would be found written upon her heart, so, we are told, might it have been affirmed that *Canada* was written upon his. "He needed no one to have

been his daily monitor about Canada. It lay down with him; it rose up with him; it engrossed almost all his thoughts; he thought the subduing of Canada to be the greatest service that could be done for New England, or for the crown of England in America." Haunted by this passionate conviction, he could find no rest in doing nothing; and so he had not been at home more than a few weeks when he was again off for England. He had a tedious and tempestuous passage, but at last he once more reached London, where he immediately put himself in communication both with the Government and with his countryman the Reverend Increase Mather, who was employed in soliciting the restoration of their charter and privileges for the New Englanders. One thing occurred after another to cause delay, and there were many difficulties to be overcome; but at length, on the advice of Mather and his friend Sir Henry Ashurst, who is described as "a most hearty friend of all such good men as those that once filled New England,"* it was agreed that Sir William should be

* Sir Henry Ashurst, of Waterstock, Oxfordshire, held the office of Agent for the General Court of the Colony of Plymouth. He was a zealous Dissenter, and, as well as his father, Henry Ashurst, Esq., had been a great friend of Richard Baxter, having stood beside him throughout his trial for a seditious libel at Guildhall, before Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, on the 28th of February 1685. This was the first year of James the Second; yet on the 21st of July 1688, in the last year of that King's reign, when the world was astonished by the strange spectacle of the Papist and the Protestant Dissenter basking peaceably together in the sunshine of court favour, Ashurst was created a Baronet. He survived till 1710, leaving, by his wife, who was Diana, one of the daughters of William sixth Lord Paget, and a great-grand-daughter of the famous Penelope Lady Rich, a son of his own name; upon whose death, however,

sent out as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of his native province of Massachusets Bay. He kissed the King's hand on his appointment on the 3rd of January 1692; and by the 14th of May thereafter he again stood on that transatlantic soil where a few years before he had been a poor and unknown working man, and where now he was His Excellency, and saw no other his equal.

But, if we may rely upon his friend's biographical narrative, the mere outside facts of the working carpenter's extraordinary elevation did not make the most extraordinary part of it. His history had been marked by other wonders much greater than his discovery of the silver mine in the bottom of the sea; if the earth did not at his nativity, as at that of the great Glendower, "shake like a coward," yet upon all the courses of *his* life too signs and mysteries had attended, which seemed to show that he was not "in the roll of common men." It must, apparently, have been during his first visit to London, in the year 1683, that a paper was one day sent to him by an old astrologer, who lived near him, and had some time before come to his lodgings and taken an observation, or ocular survey, of him, although they had had little or no discourse together; in the paper were set clearly down, with references to the astrological rules throughout, all the most material passages of his future career; "it was particularly

in 1732, the title expired. A brother of Sir Henry's, Sir William Ashurst, Knight, was Lord Mayor of London in 1694. Sir William Henry Ashurst, who was one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench from 1770 to 1799, and who died in 1807 at the age of eighty-three, was of this family, and possessed the family estate in Oxfordshire.

asserted and inserted, that he should be engaged in a design wherein by reason of enemies at Court he should meet with much delay; that nevertheless in the thirty-seventh year of his life he should find a mighty treasure; that in the forty-first year of his life his King should employ him in as great a trust beyond sea as a subject could easily have; that soon after this he should undergo an hard storm from the endeavours of his adversaries to reproach him and ruin him; that his adversaries, though they should go very near gaining the point, should yet miss of doing so; that he should hit upon a vastly richer matter than any that he had hitherto met withal; that he should continue thirteen years in his public station, full of action and full of hurry; and the rest of his days he should spend in the satisfaction of a peaceable retirement."

Phips, it seems, was only annoyed and somewhat irritated by the perusal of this paper; he received it "with trouble and with contempt;" yet he did not destroy it, but "threw it by among certain loose papers in the bottom of a trunk." There it was some years after found by his wife. It was with no little interest and surprise, as we may suppose, that she watched the prophecy as it advanced step by step through its accomplishment; at last her amazement rose to the point of alarm and horror; and, "when she heard from England that Sir William was coming over with a commission to be Governor of New England in that very year of his life which the paper specified, she was afraid of letting it lie any longer in the house, but cast it into the fire."

Some might argue that in thus acting Lady Phips ran the risk of destroying the talisman on which her husband's good fortune depended; but he himself reasoned more piously. He had now seen all but the two last predictions in the paper punctually fulfilled, and even the beginning of a fulfilment of the last but one; yet when his biographer, evidently, from this and other passages, the same person who acted as his ghostly adviser and guide, pleasantly alluded to the matter, with the view of trying whether there was any occasion "humbly to give him the serious advice necessary in such a case to anticipate the devices of Satan," Sir William quite satisfied him, and set any doubts or fears he may have had at rest, by replying:—"Sir, I do believe there might be a cursed snare of Satan in those prophecies; I believe Satan might have leave to foretel many things, all of which might come to pass in the beginning, to lay me asleep about such things as are to follow, especially about the main chance of all; I do not know but I am to die this year; for my part, by the help of the grace of God, I shall endeavour to live as if I were this year to die."

Here is a state of mind so far removed from that into which the world has now got that it is hardly to be comprehended or conceived in our day, and we find it difficult to regard it as the produce of anything else than gross ignorance combined with extreme weakness of understanding. In the mildest and most respectful view that we take of the matter, this strange readiness of our forefathers to assume the presence of the supernatural seems to us to indicate that the science of

evidence, at any rate, can hardly have had its birth when such headlong promptitude of belief in that direction was so general. They appear to have scarcely ever doubted anything that they heard or read about predictions, dreams, ghosts, divination, witchcraft, or whatever other mysteries there were with which they peopled the invisible world. It was enough that the story satisfied their love of the marvellous; that, seemingly, was held to entitle it to dispense with all other recommendations to attention. In this way, in fact, the more improbable it was, the more likely it was to be believed; it had more in it of the element that was most efficacious in producing belief. Still this is only to look at the outside of the case. The difference between ourselves and our predecessors some generations back, in the reception accorded to wonderful narratives of all kinds, has its main source much deeper than in any improvement that may have been made in the science of evidence. On all ordinary questions, people in former times both demanded evidence and weighed it much as we do. They were not generally more disposed than we are now to believe without a sufficient reason. They were rather given to doubt and suspicion. Probably more deception in every way went on then than now; and all men were fully alive to the chances of the most positive assertions and the most plausible representations turning out to be fallacious, and to the risk of being taken in by some lurking trick or treachery wherever any advantage was to be thereby gained by a hostile or rival interest. They were, accordingly, great scrutinisers of evidence,—both very

patient and very sharp at that work. They were without some physical tests for the detection of the truth which we now possess; but in the use of the proper moral powers and instruments, in ingenuity and sagacity, they were no whit our inferiors. Compare either their statesmanship or their judicial proceedings with ours; the rules of evidence may by longer usage have worn themselves into a smoother semblance of regularity and system, and in virtue of that the game of law may be more flowingly played now than formerly; the forensic gladiatorship may be more scientific; a mechanical precision may have been introduced into the operation of trying a case which was unknown in other times; and these changes may have their convenience; but any advantage that resides in them is quite distinct from that of securing the more thorough investigation and sifting of the facts to be considered, and the more distinct presentation of the case in all its real extent and bearings. It was often brought out more fully and vividly, in more of its true life and natural luxuriance, by the old ruder method of procedure. That method may have been objectionable on other accounts; it may have tended unnecessarily to protract trials, and may have often brought before the court matters not at all adapted for settlement by legal decision; but it was not chargeable with insufficiency either for the complete exposure of the case by evidence, or for the discrimination of false evidence from true. Nor were those who made use of it at all, on ordinary occasions, more blind than we are to the danger of being taken in by statements claiming their

belief; or more incompetent, whether in legal inquiries or in common life, to guard themselves from being deceived and imposed upon.

The distraction that led them astray where the spiritual world was concerned did not come out of any intellectual deficiency. Their credulity was something positive, not negative. It was a passion and a power. They had here what we have not—an eye and a vision that is quenched and lost in us. To them the supernatural was as much a reality as the natural, and as ever-present a reality. They walked by faith even more than by sight. They knew that the latter might delude them; they held that the former never could. Their minds were all in a glow about much in reference to which we are cold enough. They were alive where we are dead—ready to be excited into sudden inflammation where we are extremely slow to catch fire or totally incombustible.

The most memorable passage in the history of Sir William Phips's government of the colony of Massachusets is connected with another article of his religious creed, and that of his biographer, nearly akin to the belief which they held in common on the subject of astrological prediction. The province, we are assured, enjoyed a reasonable prosperity in all respects from the time when he was placed at the head of its affairs, except only for one thing which was begun before he entered upon his office. This was the famous Witchcraft madness which had recently broken out among the New Englanders. The account given of it in the memoir can hardly leave a doubt that the writer was

the Reverend Cotton Mather, the same enthusiastic divine by whom and some of his nearest connections it was that the fanaticism had been mainly cherished and blown into a flame at its first appearance. "Reader," he commences, "prepare to be entertained with as prodigious matters as can be put into any history! And let him that writes the next Thaumaturgia Pneumatica allow to these prodigies the chief place among the wonders." Mather had in 1689, soon after the occurrence of the first cases, come forward, as the spokesman of his reverend brethren the clergy of Massachusets, with a detailed narrative of the supposed demoniacal possessions, under the title of "Memorable Providences, relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions," &c., which was two years after reprinted in London with a title page describing it as recommended by the Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter, as well as by "the ministers of Boston and Charleston in New England." It was followed by "The Wonders of the Invisible World; being an Account of the Trials of several Witches lately executed in New England," &c., by the same writer. This was stated to be "published by the special command of his Excellency the Governor of the Province;" it was introduced by a highly eulogistic letter addressed to the author by William Stoughton, Esq., the Deputy President; and, after having gone through at least three editions in America, it too was reprinted at London in 1693. Soon after appeared, also first at Boston and afterwards at London, "A Further Account of the Trials of the New England Witches;" with the addition of "Cases of Conscience

concerning Witchcrafts, and Evil Spirits personating Men;" both tracts being declared to be "written, at the request of the Ministers of New England," by Increase Mather, President of Harvard College, who was the father of Cotton Mather. In the present account, written, or at least published, after an interval of some years, and when the popular excitement had subsided, the reverend author expresses himself with considerably more caution than in his earlier expositions; but still he stands up for the general miraculous or preternatural character of the facts almost as stoutly as ever.

"It is to be confessed and bewailed," he begins by observing, "that many inhabitants of New England, and young people especially, had been led away with little sorceries, wherein they did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God; they would often cure hurts with spells, and practise detestable conjurations with sieves, and keys, and pease, and nails, and horseshoes, and other implements, to learn the things for which they had a forbidden and impious curiosity." Wretched books of fortune-telling, also, had stolen into the land, by which "the minds of many had been so poisoned, that they studied this finer witchcraft, until 'tis well if some of them were not betrayed into what is grosser and more sensible and capital." To be sure, these diabolical divinations were more generally practised, perhaps, in all other parts of the world than in New England; but, "that being a country devoted unto the worship and service of the Lord Jesus Christ above the rest of the world, He

signalised His vengeance against these wickednesses with such extraordinary dispensations as have not been often seen in other places. The devils which had been so played withal, and, it may be, by some few criminals more explicitly engaged and employed, now broke in upon the country after as astonishing a manner as was ever heard of."

The various pranks played by the awakened demons are then detailed with all solemnity. Yet the prodigies he sets down, our author assures us, are not the tenth part of those that he might have collected. "Flashy people," he concludes, "may burlesque these things; but, when hundreds of the most sober people, in a country where they have as much mother wit, certainly, as the rest of mankind, know them to be true, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of Sadducism can question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one thing that will not be justified, if it be required, by the oaths of more considerate persons than any that can ridicule these odd phenomena."

At the thickest of this astonishing tragedy, however, he proceeds to informs us, Sir William Phips dropped down "as it were from the machine of heaven"—*deus ex machina*—and became "an instrument of easing the distresses of the land, now so darkened by the wrath of the Lord of Hosts." Let us see, however, how the fact stands, divested of rhetorical embellishment.

Immediately after Phips's arrival in the colony, about the middle of May 1692, the first of the accused persons, the wife of Mr. Nathaniel Cary, one of the principal inhabitants of the town of Charleston, was committed

for trial. The next, Captain John Alden, of Boston, was committed about the end of the same month. The assizes were opened at Salem in the beginning of June. On the 16th of that month Bridget Bishop, or Oliver, was executed, protesting her innocence. On the 15th, a number of ministers, who had been consulted by the Governor and the Council, the proceedings of the Court having been suspended for that purpose, returned a Report, in which, after declaring that the afflicted state of the poor persons now suffering by molestation from the invisible world was, in their opinion, so deplorable as to call for the utmost help of all persons in their several capacities, and acknowledging with all thankfulness the success which the mercy of God had already given to the sedulous and assiduous endeavours of those in authority to defeat the abominable witchcrafts which had been committed in the country, they humbly prayed that the discovery of those mysterious and mischievous wickednesses might be perfected. Phips's reverend biographer gives what has all the form and show of being a complete copy of this Report; but he quietly omits what has just been quoted. It went on to recommend that certain precautions should be remembered in considering and deciding upon the evidence against the accused, most of which, in fact, came from persons themselves professing to be under diabolical influence. In particular it was suggested that perhaps some remarkable affronts given the devils by the rejection of their testimony in certain cases when it stood alone might have a good effect. All this portion of the Report our biographer transcribes in full.

But he gives not a hint of the conclusion of the paper, any more than of its commencement:—"Nevertheless, we cannot but humbly recommend unto the government the speedy and vigorous prosecutions of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the directions given in the laws of God and the wholesome statutes of the English nation for the detection of witchcrafts." * In conformity with this recommendation the trials were immediately resumed and proceeded with. On the 19th of July five more unhappy persons were executed; the same number on the 19th of August; and eight more on the 22nd of September. A few days before this last butchery, also, Giles Cory, having refused to plead, was pressed to death by the *peine forte et dure*. "In pressing," says one of the accounts, "his tongue was forced out of his mouth, but the Sheriff, with his cane, thrust it in again when he was dying."

It was immediately after this, in the beginning of October, that Mr. Cotton Mather published his first account of the Trials by the special command of Governor Phips. Several persons who had been condemned still remained unexecuted; the prisons were full of others awaiting trial; and accusations and committals were multiplying every day. But now suddenly a change came over men's minds. Phips's biographer, who nowhere explicitly acknowledges that any thing wrong had been done up to this time,—that any person had

* This Report, Phips's biographer says, was, as he has been informed, drawn up at the desire of the ministers, by Mr. Mather the younger. Mr. Cotton Mather must apparently be meant; that is, in all probability, the biographer himself.

been unjustly put to death,—and who had been, there is reason to believe, one of the chief promoters and urgers on of every trial and every execution, shall himself give us an account of it. "There fell out," he says, "several strange things that caused the spirit of the country to run as vehemently upon the acquitting of all the accused as it by mistake ran at first upon the condemning of them. Some, that had been zealously of the mind that the devils could not, in the shapes of good men, afflict other men, were terribly confuted by having their own shapes, and the shapes of their most intimate and valued friends, thus abused. And, though more than twice twenty had made such voluntary and harmonious and uncontrollable confessions, that, if they were all sham, there was therein the greatest violation made, by the efficacy of the invisible world, upon the rules of understanding human affairs that was ever seen since God made man upon the earth, yet it was very clear some of them had been hitherto in a sort of preternatural dream, wherein they had said of themselves they knew not what themselves." Some further particulars are mentioned by other authorities. At first it had been chiefly people of a very humble class that had been charged by the *afflicted* (as they were called) with having bewitched them, and being their tormentors; but at length persons of the higher ranks began to be frequently glanced at and named. A Justice of Peace named Bradsheet, who had shown some remissness in prosecuting, and his brother found it expedient to abscond. One of the clergy, a Mr. Hale, minister of Beverley, had taken a leading part in the

prosecutions, but came to see the matter in a new light when his own wife was accused. Something of the same kind appears to have happened with His Excellency the Governor; it is said that one of the so-called possessed persons actually named Lady Phips as the agent of the powers of darkness who was concerned in his or her particular case. A story that is told would lead us to suspect that her ladyship had never been so carried away by the reigning excitement as her husband: once in Sir William's absence, it is related, she effected the rescue of a poor woman under accusation of witchcraft, in behalf of whom she had been solicited, by actually taking it upon her to issue a formal warrant under his hand and seal for her liberation, which the jailor unhesitatingly obeyed.

The juries, however, it is asserted, began to give way before either the government or the judges. But at last, after many indictments had been thrown out by grand juries, and petty juries had begun to return verdicts of *Not Guilty*, even in cases in which the terrified or half-crazy prisoners confessed everything they were charged with, in April 1693, when the madness had lasted for about sixteen months, Phips made up his mind to stop further proceedings, and to discharge all the prisoners that still remained untried. There were above a hundred and fifty of them actually committed for trial, besides above two hundred more against whom accusations had been brought. This course Sir William, according to his biographer, thought would, even if wrong, certainly be the safest, when he had well considered the whole case, which, the learned

writer is pleased to say, "perhaps might have puzzled the wisest men on earth to have managed without any error in their administrations." "The people of New England," he adds, "are to this hour full of doubts about the steps which were taken while a war from the invisible world was terrifying of them, and whether they did not kill some of their own side in the smoke and noise of this dreadful war."*

Now, however,—"the devils being thus vanquished," as our biographer expresses it, — Governor Phips had leisure to attend to other affairs. He conducted in person an expedition against his old acquaintances, the Indians on the north-eastern frontier of the colony, and compelled them to sign a treaty of amity and submission, "at the New Fort in Pemmaquid," on the 11th of August 1693. There were "some nice people," his biographer scornfully remarks, that had their scruples about the justice of this war; but Phips did not mind that, or any other kind of opposition, when he felt himself to be in the right. Not satisfied with the formal peace that had been established with his wild neighbours, he took all pains to secure their good-

* For the history of the New England witchcraft mania, besides the Life of Phips, and the accounts of the Trials published at the time by Mr. Cotton Mather and his father, see a narrative by Mr. John Hales, or Hale, the minister of Beverley, inserted by Cotton Mather in the Seventh Chapter of the Sixth Book of his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, pp. 79—83; the Fifth Chapter of Bishop Hutchinson's *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft* (London, 1718), pp. 72—94, principally on the authority of a book (printed at London) written by Mr. Calef, a merchant of New England, and an eyewitness of much of what he describes; Governor Hutchinson's *History of the Province of Massachuset's Bay*, Vol. II. pp. 15—63 (Second Edition, 1768); and *State Trials*, Vol. VI., pp. 647—682.

will, and to make it their manifest interest to attach themselves to the English rather than to the French. With this view, we are told, he made "many a tedious voyage, accompanied sometimes with his *fidus Achates*, and very dear friend, kinsman, and neighbour, Colonel John Philips, between Boston and Pemmaquid; and this in the bitter weeks of the New-English, which is almost a Russian winter." He also repeatedly visited the Indians of the South, whom he was particularly anxious to convert to Protestantism; "for they had been taught by the French priests this, among other things, that the Mother of our blessed Saviour was a French lady, and that they were Englishmen by whom our Saviour was murdered; and that it was therefore a meritorious thing to destroy the English nation." Some of these proceedings of the zealous and single-minded Governor subjected him to abundance of criticism and detraction; but, as the renowned Fabius Maximus of Pagan story, when similarly assailed, thought only of what he owed to the Commonwealth, so he thought only of the glory of God,—for which his biographer holds that he merited some such appellation as the modern *Fabius* (or *Phippius*) *Maximus*. At the same time, with all his piety, he was no bigot. "He was very zealous," says our author, "for all men to enjoy such a liberty of conscience as he judged a native right of mankind; and he was extremely troubled at the overboiling zeal of some good men, who formerly took that wrong way of restraining heretics by persecution." It may be inferred, indeed, from what is said a little after this that he perhaps hardly came quite up

to the common New England standard of religious observance among decided professors. "He did not," we are told, "affect any mighty show of devotion; and when he saw any that were evidently careful to make a show, and especially if at the same time they were notoriously defective in the duties of common justice or goodness, or the duties of the relations wherein God had stationed them, he had an extreme aversion for them. Nevertheless, he did show a conscientious desire to observe the laws of the Lord Jesus Christ in his conversation; and he conscientiously attended upon the exercises of devotion in the seasons thereof, on lectures as well as on Lord's-days, and in the daily sacrifice, the morning and evening service of his own family; yea, and at the private meetings of the devout people kept every fortnight in the neighbourhood." In addition to all this, when he had any great undertaking before him, he used to invite people to meet at his house to fast and pray with him for its success; and, in like manner, when he had got happily through any important affair, he would collect his friends about him to celebrate the finished work by a day of solemn thanksgiving.

Sir William's governorship, however, did not last very long. His biographer expresses his belief that, had the people had the appointment of their own Governor, he would have been the man they would have elected by more than forty votes to one; but he acknowledges that there was a minority whose determination it was to take no rest till they had effected his displacement. And so vigorously did they

prosecute their object by the representations they sent home to Whitehall, that at length an order for his recall was obtained. He took his departure from Boston —never, so it proved, to see that place or his native continent again—on the 17th of November 1694. His embarkation, however, according to his biographer, was accompanied by every popular testimony of regard and honour; and he carried with him addresses to the throne and the chief ministers of state from the General Assembly of the province, praying that he might soon be sent back to them. But it is from other sources we learn that these addresses were only carried by a majority of twenty-six to twenty-four.*

Phips's biographer does not so much as notice the alleged acts of misconduct for which he was called to account. Hutchinson intimates that his talents and acquirements were soon discovered not to fit him so well for being the governor of a province as they had done for being the captain of a ship. "He was," says this writer, "of a benevolent, friendly disposition; at the same time quick and passionate;" a representation which is sufficiently accordant with the admissions dropped by his professed panegyrist, who, as we have seen, allows that under the sudden smart of an indignity he would show choler enough, and would not always confine himself to words in expressing his resentment on such occasions. There were two cases in which he was specially charged with having forgotten the decorum of his station. A dispute, in which "a close attachment to his friends," as Hutchinson puts it, involved

* *Hutchinson's Massachusets Bay*, II., 28.

him with the Collector of Customs at Boston, came at last to a scuffle between the two on the public wharf. The other affair was a quarrel which he had with a Captain of the Navy, whom he first struck with his cane on the street, and then forthwith committed to prison.*

It is probable, however, that he would have been able satisfactorily to explain or excuse these outbreaks of a warm but honest temper. It was thought, Hutchinson states, that all would have gone well with him if he had lived.† His biographer affirms that he had not been long in England before a very eminent person, belonging to the court, called upon him, and assured him that he should, within a month, be restored to his government. This was about the middle of February; he was at the time confined to his chamber from a cold which he had caught a few days before. His ailment, however, according to Hutchinson, was more mental than bodily; he had, on first reaching London, been arrested at the suit of the Collector of Customs and another of his colonial opponents, who had together raised actions against him, in which they claimed damages to the amount of £20,000; and, although he was immediately bailed by his friend Sir Henry Ashurst, the high-spirited man, long accustomed to the exercise of authority, and constituted to revolt from wrong of every kind, whether done to himself or to others, with too burning a hatred and indignation, could not digest the insult that had been put upon him; a rapid fever carried him off on the 18th of

* *Hutchinson*, II., 75-78. † *Id.*, 85.

February 1695. He had only just entered his forty-fifth year.

There is one retrenchment in the Life of Phips, as reprinted in Mather's large volume, which is remarkable. After telling us that "Sir William was a person of so sweet a temper, that they who were most intimately acquainted with him would commonly pronounce him the best conditioned gentleman in the world;" and that by the continual proofs he gave of such a temper he so gained the hearts of those who accompanied him in any of his expeditions, that they were wont to profess themselves willing to have gone with him to the end of the world; the writer proceeds:— "But, if all other people found him so kind a neighbour, we may easily infer what an husband he was unto his lady. Leaving unmentioned that virtue of his chastity, which the prodigious depravation brought by the late reigns upon the manners of the nation has made worthy to be mentioned as a virtue somewhat extraordinary, I shall rather pass on to say, that the love, even to fondness, with which he always treated her was a matter, not only of observation, but even of such admiration, that every one said the age afforded not a kinder husband."* And then he suddenly stops short. But in the original edition of the tract, published five years before, the paragraph runs on as follows:—"This kindness appeared, not only in his making it no less his delight than study to render his whole conversation agreeable to her; but also, and perhaps chiefly, in that

* *Magnalia Christi Americana*, (1702), Book II., p. 69.

satisfaction which it gave him to have his interests very much at her command. Before he first went abroad upon wrack designs, he, to make his long absence easy unto her, made her his promise, that what estate the God of Heaven should then bestow upon him should be entirely at her disposal in case that she survived him. And, when Almighty God accordingly bestowed upon him a fair estate, he not only rejoiced in seeing so many acts of charity done every day by her bountiful hand, but he also (not having any children of his own) adopted a nephew of hers to be his heir; and, reckoning that a verbal intimation unto her of what pious and public acts he would have any part of his estate after his death put unto, as well as what supports he would have afforded unto his own relations, would be as much attended by her as if he had otherwise taken the most effectual care imaginable, he contented himself with bequeathing all he had entirely to her in his last will and testament: he knew very well that her will, in point of a liberal disposition to honour the Lord with the substance which the Lord had, in so strange a manner, enriched them withal, would not fail of being equal to his own." *

It appears that Lady Phips, after Sir William's death, found a third husband, Peter Sargent, Esq.† This marriage probably took place in the interval between the two publications of the Memoir; and it may have had something to do with the suppression of

* *Pietas in Patriam* (1697), p. 96.

† This fact is incidentally mentioned by Hutchinson, *History*, II., 136.

the above passage in the second edition. Sir William's remains were interred in the Church of St. Mary Woolnoth, London; and there his monument is still to be seen, erected, as is declared, to perpetuate his memory, by order of his lady. The inscription states, among other things, that the Spanish plate-ship, which he discovered, "by his great industry," in the year 1687, "among the rocks near the banks of Bahama, on the north side of Hispaniola," had been under water forty-four years; and that, having accepted the government of the Massachusets, "by the command of his present Majesty [that is, King William], and at the request of the principal inhabitants of New England," he continued in it to the time of his death, "and discharged his trust with that zeal for the interest of his country, and with so little regard to his own private advantage, that he finally gained the good esteem and affections of the greatest and best part of the inhabitants of that colony."*

It seems to be certain that Sir William left no children. In accordance with the express testimony of his biographer are the following lines in a Poem on his death, printed at the end of the Memoir:—

> "True to his mate; from whom though often flown,
> A stranger yet to every love but one;
> Write him not childless, whose whole people were
> Sons, orphans now, of his paternal care."

It is difficult, however, to say to whom his fortune

* See the inscription in full in *Maitland's History of London*, II., 1145.

eventually descended, or what was really the relationship between him and the undoubted progenitor of the noble house of which he is regarded as having been the founder. It seems unlikely that, with so many brothers and sisters of his own, some of whom surely must have had children, he should, as his biographer says he did, have adopted a nephew of his wife to be his heir. This nephew was, according to the common account, Constantine Phips, Esq. The name would rather indicate that he must in all probability have been Sir William's own nephew, the son of one of his brothers. Another version of the story, that given by Hutchinson, is, that the person whom Sir William adopted was Spencer Phips, Esq., his own nephew by a sister.* He was in 1733 appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusets, having been for some years previous a member of the Council. But how should he, any more than the nephew of Lady Phips, have come by such a surname? To be sure, either or both may have adopted the name of Phips.

It is from Constantine Phips, at any rate, whoever he may have been, that the ennobled Phipses derive themselves. So early as in 1693, or more than a year before the death of Sir William Phips, we find this Constantine Phips resident in England, and appointed Agent for the Province of Massachusets Bay in conjunction with Sir Henry Ashurst.† He became a distinguished lawyer, and was in 1711 appointed by Queen Anne Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and knighted. Sir Constantine Phips is remembered for having, after he lost the seals in 1714,

* *History*, II., 381, *note*. † *Id.*, 84.

returned to his practice at the bar in the English courts. He was, probably, when he died in 1728, of a good age, and may indeed have come into the world as soon as Sir William Phips, who would not have afforded an extraordinary instance of longevity if his life had been prolonged to the same date. This may justify a further doubt as to whether he may have been a nephew either of Sir William or of his wife. There can be little question, however, that he was related in some way or other to the Governor of Massachusets, and he probably inherited most of his fortune. The son of Sir Constantine Phips, who was named William, perhaps after the Governor, was of mature age in 1718; he married in that year the Lady Katharine Annesley, daughter and sole heir of James third Earl of Anglesey. This marriage may be looked upon as the root of at least the titular nobility of the Phipses, which, however, has grown out of it in an unusual and somewhat tortuous fashion. The Countess of Anglesey, the mother of the lady, was the Lady Katharine Darnley, a natural daughter of King James the Second by the celebrated Katharine Sedley (daughter of Sir Charles), whom he created Countess of Dorchester; she was separated from the Earl by act of Parliament for his cruelty, in June 1701, while she was pregnant with her daughter, their only child; and after the Earl's death she became the third wife of the celelebrated John Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, who was also Duke and Marquis of Normanby and Earl of Mulgrave. William Phips died in 1730, leaving a son Constantine, who in 1767 was raised to the peerage as an Irish Baron, when, turning

away from his own blood and ancestry, he chose the title of Mulgrave, after the Earldom, by this time extinct, that had been possessed by his grandmother's second husband. And to the same source all his descendants have gone for the designations of the additional honours with which they have been successively invested. His eldest son, Constantine John, was in 1790 created Baron Mulgrave in the peerage of the United Kingdom; and, when he had died without issue male, the same title was in 1794 re-conferred upon his brother Henry, who was further in 1812 created Viscount Normanby and Earl of Mulgrave. Finally, this first Earl of Mulgrave's son, Constantine Henry, the present peer, when he was in 1838 advanced to a Marquisate, faithful to the pertinacious family habit of drawing upon its ducal connexion, took to himself old Sheffield's other title of Marquis of Normanby. It is odd that the Phipses, or Phippses (as is the modern spelling), having previously acquired their surname, if the common account may be relied upon, from a stranger, only an accidental and temporary annexation to their line, should afterwards on becoming ennobled, and in making their ascent through the various ranks of the peerage, have assumed all their titles, one after the other, by a similar process of lateral appropriation.*

* It is extraordinary that it should not be known with certainty who was the father of a man who was living in the reign of George the Second, not much more than a century ago,—who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland,—whose grandson was an Irish peer,—and whose great-great-grandson, or descendant in only the fourth degree, is a British Marquis. That Sir Constantine Phips was not the son of Sir William Phips, as he used to be described in the Peerages, is quite clear. At the same time

there are difficulties, which may possibly admit of explanation, but have not received it, in all the other accounts that have been given or hypotheses that have been proposed—that he was the nephew of Lady Phips, that he was the son of a sister of Sir William, that he was Sir William's own nephew by a brother. The last supposition is a mere conjecture, resting upon no authority; either of the others would imply (unless we assume another Phips married to a sister of Sir William or his wife) that he must have changed his name, which, nevertheless, nobody notices his having done. Perhaps the name of *Phips* may have been regarded as being the same with *Philips*, and both Constantine and Spencer Phips may have been sons or brothers of the Colonel John Philips, whom we have found Sir William's biographer designating his "*fidus Achates*, and very dear friend, *kinsman*, and neighbour."

THE HOUSE OF PETTY.

THE history of the formerly obscure name of Phips may be matched by that of another, which has also achieved its ascent to the highest grade but one of the peerage.

The Marquis of Lansdowne ranks in point of birth, or length of pedigree, among the most distinguished personages of his order, tracing his descent in the male line up to the thirteenth century through some twenty generations of noble ancestors, the first of whom, moreover, was the scion of a stock that had been of eminence for at least two preceding centuries. The branch of which the Marquis is the head, however, has hardly been English for quite a century yet. The Fitzmaurices (that is the proper paternal name) are substantially an Anglo-Irish race; they went over to Ireland with Earl Strongbow in the latter end of the twelfth century, and they continued in that country till near the middle of the eighteenth. There a succession of one-and-twenty of them, chiefs of the Clan Maurice and lords of an extensive domain in the county of Kerry, enjoyed for about five hundred years the title of Baron Kerry, raised in the person of the last of them in 1722 to that of Viscount Clanmaurice and Earl of Kerry, in the Irish peerage. A younger son of this first Earl of Kerry was in 1751 made an Irish peer by the title of

Viscount Fitzmaurice, and was two years later advanced to the Irish Earldom of Shelburne; it was not till 1760 that he was made Baron Wycombe in the English peerage. His son, the second Earl of Shelburne, was created Marquis of Lansdowne in 1784; and his son is the present and third Marquis, an elder brother having been the second. The ancient Irish titles of the family also devolved upon the present Marquis in 1818 upon the death, without issue, of the third Earl of Kerry.

It was after its transplantation to Ireland that the family acquired the surname of Fitzmaurice. Its original root is held to be a powerful chieftain named Otho, or rather Other, who is spoken of as settled in Saxon England in the time of Alfred the Great, and as of Danish or Norwegian descent. His son, or supposed son, of the same name, appears from Domesday Book to have been a considerable English landowner in the reign of the Confessor. He was the father of Walter Fitzotho, one of whose sons, William (whether the eldest or the youngest is disputed), was the ancestor of the Windsors Earls of Plymouth; from the other, Gerald, are descended the Duke of Leinster and the Marquis of Lansdowne; but it is again uncertain whether Maurice, the progenitor of the Duke, or William, the progenitor of the Marquis, was Gerald's elder son. Both brothers were among the invaders of Ireland under Earl Strongbow. Raymond, the son of William Fitzgerald, settling in the conquered country, married a sister of Strongbow, and by her had a son Maurice, who was the father of Thomas Fitzmaurice first Baron Kerry.

The Earls of Kerry remained Fitzmaurices to the last; the first Fitzmaurice who assumed the name of Petty was that younger son of the first Earl from whom the Marquises of Lansdowne are descended. And he did so only in 1751, on succeeding to the estates of an uncle, his mother's brother, whose surname was Petty. That uncle and an elder brother, with the Countess of Kerry, were the children of the famous Sir William Petty, the political arithmetician, of whom therefore the present Marquis of Lansdowne is the great-great-grandson.

The history of Sir William Petty has been sketched by himself in his Will, written about two years before his death. Some curious particulars, too, have been preserved by his friend John Aubrey, the antiquary, most of them derived from Petty's own communications.

He was born on Monday the 26th of May 1623. His native place, as he tells us himself, was Romsey, in Hampshire. He speaks of his father and mother and his grandfather having been buried there, as well as all his brothers and sisters. Aubrey informs us that he was the eldest son of Anthony Petty, who "was by profession a clothier, and also did dye his own clothes,"—meaning the cloths which he sold. Young Petty early showed his sharp, observant, practical, and acquisitive turn of mind, by the delight he took in watching smiths, carpenters, joiners, and other artificers at work, and by the quantity both of insight and of handicraft skill in various ways which he had thus acquired before he was twelve years of age. He had also been put to the free school of his native town; and he states that by the time he was fifteen he had possessed himself of

the Latin, Greek, and French languages, of "the whole body of common arithmetic," and of so much of practical geometry and astronomy as bore upon navigation, dialling, and other such arts, in addition to the knowledge of several mechanical trades.

It was not at Romsey, however, that he made all these acquisitions, nor were they all that he made, it would appear, at this early age. "He has told me," says his friend Aubrey, writing in Petty's lifetime, "there happened to him the most remarkable accident of life (which he did not tell me), and which was the foundation of all the rest of his greatness and acquiring riches. He informed me that about fifteen, in March, he went over to Caen, in Normandy, in a vessel that went hence, with a little stock, and began to play the merchant, and had so good success that he maintained himself, and also educated himself: this, I guess, was that most remarkable accident that he meant. Here he learned the French tongue, and perfected himself in Latin, and had Greek enough to serve his turn. At Caen he studied the arts. At eighteen he was, I have heard him say, a better mathematician than he is now; but, when occasion is, he knows how to recur to more mathematical knowledge." Petty himself, in his will, having enumerated his various acquirements in useful knowledge, adds: "All which, and having been at the University of Caen,* preferred me to the King's navy;

* Always misprinted "Oxon" (Oxford). I pointed out this error some years ago in a Life of Petty contributed to *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery* (Vol. ix. pp. 24–52), which contains a survey and abstract of all the various notices that we have of him.

where at the age of twenty years I had gotten up about threescore pounds, with as much mathematics as any of my age was known to have had." It is curious to find him already dividing his exertions so impartially, and with such equal success, between the getting up of mathematics and the getting up of money, as he expressively designates two things which are not usually thus comprehended under the same phrase.*

An illustrative anecdote of this portion of his career is told by Aubrey. He went to sea, it would appear, as a common sailor, or sailor's boy, being bound apprentice to the captain; and one of the first things that happened to him was the getting drubbed with a cord by his master for not discovering a steeple upon the coast, which he had been sent aloft to keep a look out for. His eye missed seeing the landmark, but he discovered, with his sharper mental vision, that he was purblind, or short-sighted.

His own language would imply that he made at least part of his sixty pounds at sea. "With this provision," he goes on, "*anno* 1643, when the civil wars between the King and Parliament grew hot, I went into the

* "He speaks of his mathematics, we see, as if it was so much additional money capital. Indeed, although he may have loved, and probably did love, knowledge for its own sake, he never forgot its value as a means or instrument. And both the arithmetical or calculating character and the acquisitive turn of his mind inclined him to the habit of estimating its value in that respect in figures and by the standard of the pocket. Instead of saying, with Bacon, that knowledge was power, he would have said, if he had spoken out, that knowledge was pounds, shillings, and pence,—which, indeed, constitute, perhaps, in this world the most universally felt and the best understood species of power. He was all for the practical in all things, and in general for the pecuniary as the most comprehensive form of the practical."—*Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, ix. 27.

Netherlands and France for three years; and, having vigorously followed my studies, especially that of medicine, at Utrecht, Leyden, and Amsterdam, and Paris, I returned to Romsey, where I was born, bringing back with me my brother Anthony, whom I had bred, with about £10 more than I had carried out of England." His father had died in 1644, but had left him, Aubrey assures us, little or nothing. He was, therefore, entitled to feel some self-satisfaction and pride in having thus educated both himself and his brother, and saved his seventy pounds by the time he was two-and-twenty. It is rather remarkable, however, that he should not have dropt a hint of the way in which he was enabled to do all this, or even of how he subsisted during the three years he spent on the Continent. It has been conjectured that he was engaged in some sort of traffic; and there is reason to believe that he was not always fortunate. He told Aubrey, that once during his residence in Paris he was reduced to such straits as to have had nothing to live upon for a week except either two pennyworth, or at most three pennyworth, of walnuts. Aubrey intimates a suspicion that he may have been for some time in prison there, meaning, probably, for debt. Such struggles and mischances make his ultimate success all the more wonderful, and the more to his credit.

At Paris he found and made acquaintance with his countryman Hobbes, who, with as little taste for military excitement as himself, and no more sympathy for any of the other passions kindled on either side, had in like manner, about a year sooner, hastened out of the way of the great contest of argument as well as of arms,

which Milton, with his different temperament and philosophy, had a short time before hastened home from Italy to meet and mingle in. Hobbes was much more than twice the age of Petty; but his speculative audacity would take kindly to the practical cleverness of his young friend. It is recorded that they read the Anatomy of Vesalius together, and that Petty, with his ready hand, drew the diagrams for a tract on Optics which Hobbes was writing.

In his own account Petty confines himself mostly to the history of his pecuniary affairs. If he mentions any other particulars, it is only with reference to the great fundamental article of his faith, that money makes the man. It would appear to have been sometime in the year 1646 that he returned to England. With his £70, he goes on to inform us, and his endeavours, in less than four years more he obtained his degree of M.D. at Oxford, and was forthwith admitted "into the College of Physicians, London, and into several clubs of the Virtuous," (that is, of the *Virtuosi*, or Learned). "After all which expense defrayed," he adds, "I had left £28." He had, in fact, entered himself a student at Brazennose College, on the purification of the University by the Parliamentary visitors, in April 1648; and he was created a Doctor of Physic on the 7th of March 1649.

About the time when he went to Oxford, or immediately before, he made his *début* as an author by the publication of a small quarto tract under the title of "Advice to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for the Advancement of some particular parts of Learning,"—Hartlib being

the same person to whom Milton had addressed his *Tractate of Education* about four years before. The main subject of Petty's pamphlet is also the Education of Youth. It is both an ingenious and an abundantly characteristic performance.

He proposes that all the children in the kingdom should be trained from their seventh year in what he calls *Ergastula Literaria,* or Literary Workhouses, being places where they might be taught to do something towards their living, or what we now call Schools of Industry, as well as seminaries of intellectual instruction. None, he insists, should be excluded by reason of the poverty or inability of their parents; "for hereby it hath come to pass that many are now holding the plough which might have been fit to steer the state." He would have all young people even of the highest rank thus trained to "some genteel manufacture;"—such as "turning of curious figures, making mathematical instruments, dials, and how to use them in astronomical observations; making watches and other trochilic motions; limning, and painting on glass or in oil-colours; graving, etching, carving, embossing, and moulding in sundry matters; the lapidary's art in knowing, cutting, and setting jewels; grinding of glasses, dioptrical and catoptrical; botanies and gardening; making musical instruments; navarchy, and making models for building and rigging of ships; architecture, and making models for houses; the confectioner's, perfumer's, or dyer's arts; chemistry, refining metals, and counterfeiting jewels; anatomy, making skeletons, and excarnating bowels; making mariner's compasses, globes, and other magnetic devices."

He would have not only foreign languages, but even the learning to read their own language, deferred in regard to all the children till they were taught other things more needful, and also better adapted to their tender years; they ought to be exclusively occupied at first, he thinks, in learning "to observe and remember all sensible objects and actions, whether they be natural or artificial;" and such matters cognisable by the natural senses the educators ought to take every occasion of explaining to them. He would have them, that is to say, to be made extensively and accurately conversant with things, or actual existences, before being set to the study of signs or words. Afterwards he lays down the following rules, among others:—That when they are ready to learn to read they should be taught "by much more compendious means than are in common use—which is a thing certainly very easy and feasible;" that they should be taught to write not only in the common way, but also swiftly (he probably means in shorthand), and in real characters (that is to say, after a method which should be equally intelligible in all languages, one of the favourite speculations of that age); that the method of artificial memory should be also tried; "that in no case the art of drawing and designing be omitted;—since the use thereof for expressing the conceptions of the mind seems to be little inferior to that of writing, and in many cases performs what by words is impossible;"—that the elements of arithmetic and geometry be studied by all;—"that effectual courses be taken to try the abilities of the bodies and minds of children, the strength of their memory, inclination of their affections

either to vice or virtue, and to which of them in particular, and withal to alter what is bad in them, and increase and improve what is good;"—"that such as shall have need to learn foreign languages (the use whereof would be much lessened were the real and common characters brought into practice) may be taught them by incomparably more easy ways than are now usual;"—"that no ignoble, unnecessary, or condemned part of learning be taught in those houses of education; so that, if any man shall vainly fall upon them, he himself only may be blamed;"—finally, that music be taught to all such as have any natural ability and fitness for that art.*

One thing more that all the children are to be taught is "the dexterous use of the instrument for writing many copies of the same thing at once." This was a contrivance of Petty's own, having the purpose of the modern copying machine, but constructed, apparently, upon the principle of the pantograph, or rather of the sculptor's pointing needle, two connected pens being moved together by the same action of the hand. It is

* Other establishments proposed in the pamphlet are a *Gymnasium Mechanicum*, or College for Mechanics; a *Nosocomium Academicum*, or Institution for the scientific treatment of Diseases; a *Theatrum Botanicum*, or Botanic Garden, including what we should now call a Zoological Garden. "And characteristically enough, the concluding part of the scheme is a proposal for the compilation of a work to be entitled *Vellus Aureum, sive Facultatum Lucriferarum Descriptio Magna* (The Golden Fleece, or Great Description of the Money-Making Faculties); 'wherein all the practised ways of getting a subsistence, and whereby men raise their fortunes, may be at large declared.' Here we have the favourite *Luciferous* experimenting of Bacon improved by the slightest possible change. In Petty's notion, the *Lucriferous* was the true *Luciferous*."—*Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, ix. 32.

described in general terms, and its alleged advantages enumerated, in the pamphlet. On the 6th of March 1648 a patent was granted to Petty by the Parliament, giving him the sole right of teaching his art of double writing for seventeen years. But the pen proved a failure when it came to be tried; it was found to take considerably more than twice the time to produce its two copies that the common pen took to produce one.

Petty's advancement now went on with great rapidity. It was on the 25th of June 1650 that he was admitted a member of the College of Physicians. Soon after, if not before, he was elected a Fellow of his College, it is said on a parliamentary recommendation. He had been previously appointed Deputy to the Professor of Anatomy; and it was while officiating in that capacity that, on the 14th of December 1650, he achieved his famous cure of Anne Green, and her perfect restoration, after she had undergone the process of execution, and not only been suspended by the neck for nearly half-an-hour, but in addition rolled about and stamped upon by her friends to make sure of her being quite dead before the dissector's knife should come near her. She lived for many years. On the 1st of January following the Professor of Anatomy resigned, upon which Petty was unanimously elected to the chair; and about a month after he was also appointed Professor of Music in Gresham College. In the first two years in which he held his fellowship and his two professorships he increased his stock of twenty-eight pounds, he states in his will, to about four hundred.

He was not long in making his way to a field in

which his peculiar genius found itself in the midst of more productive opportunities. In the latter part of the year 1652 he obtained the appointment of Physician to the Army in Ireland, which he retained for about seven years. A hundred pounds which he was allowed for outfit made him worth about £500 when he landed at Waterford in September 1652; he had a salary of twenty shillings a day; and he made by his practice about £400 a year more. But these regular emoluments of his post were far from being all that he got out of it. Ireland was throughout the whole of the seventeenth century the most tempting region of adventure for English ambition; it was what the New World had been in the sixteenth, and what India became in the eighteenth; though what made it so rich an El Dorado, or Land of Gold, was not so much its natural wealth as the succession of public calamities by which it had been torn and crushed, the divisions and ever following subjugations which again and again threw it down a helpless prey for the spoiler. Petty writes his title at full length as "Physician to the Army who had suppressed the Rebellion begun in the year 1641, and to the General of the same and the Head Quarters." He then proceeds:—"About September 1654, I perceiving that the admeasurement of the lands forfeited by the aforementioned Rebellion, and intended to regulate the satisfaction of the soldiers who had suppressed the same, was most insufficiently and absurdly managed, I obtained a contract, dated 11th December 1654, for making the said admeasurement, and by God's blessing so performed the same as

that I gained about £9000 thereby; which, with the £500 above mentioned, my salary of twenty shillings *per diem*, the benefit of my practice, together with £600 given me for directing an after-survey of the Adventurers' lands, and £800 more for two years' salary as Clerk of the Council, raised me an estate of about £13,000 in ready and real money, at a time when, without art, interest, or authority, men bought as much land for ten shillings in real money as in this year 1685 yields ten shillings *per annum* rent above his Majesty's quit rents." Part of this money he kept in cash to answer emergencies; with part he purchased the house and garden of the Earl of Arundel, in Lothbury, London; but the greater part he invested in soldiers' debentures, with which he purchased lands in Ireland at the low price above described. Aubrey affirms that these lands produced him a rental of £18,000 a year.

So large a fortune so rapidly made naturally exposed him to envy. It was Henry Cromwell who, having first made him his secretary when he came over to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant in 1655, had two years after appointed him to the Clerkship of the Council; and it was by the same interest that he was in the end of the year 1658 returned for the Cornish borough of West Looe to the Protector Richard's parliament, which was to meet in January following. He had not yet taken his seat when, on the 25th of March, articles of impeachment were exhibited against him for his proceedings in connection with the Irish forfeited lands by Sir Hierome Sankey, member for Woodstock, described by Aubrey as one of Oliver's Knights, and as having been

wont to figure as a preacher in Dublin before he became a parliament-man. The sudden breaking up of the parliament on the 22nd of April prevented the case from being proceeded with; but Petty evidently felt himself to be in considerable danger. He was menaced, indeed, in various ways. Sankey had been a soldier as well as a preacher, and challenged his adversary to mortal combat. Petty got out of that scrape by pleading his extreme short-sightedness, and, in virtue of his right to name the place and weapon, insisting that they should fight in a dark cellar with carpenters' axes. But, although he returned to Ireland the instant he was released from his parliamentary duties, not even the protection of his friend the Lord-Lieutenant was able to screen him from the storm that had been raised. The prosecution begun by the parliament was taken up by the English government; and meanwhile he was removed from all his public employments.

He had already had recourse to his proper weapon the pen, and had given to the public what he called "A Brief of Proceedings" between himself and Sankey, by which, perhaps, it may have been that he provoked the Knight to challenge him. In the early part of the year 1660 he followed up this pamphlet by another, entitled, "Reflections upon some persons and things in Ireland," in which he entered into a detailed explanation of the way in which he had made his money. In 1649, according to this statement, after he had taken his degree of M.D. and obtained his admission to the College of Physicians, he had about £60 over. By the autumn of 1652, when he went over to Ireland, that had been augmented to

nearly £500. By December 1654, when he began his survey and got into his other public entanglements, his savings had grown to be about £1600. "Now," he continues, "the interest of this £1600 for a year in Ireland could not be less than £200, which, with £550 for another year's salary and practice, namely until the lands were set out in October 1655, would have increased my said stock to £2350; with £2000 whereof I would have bought £8000 in debentures, which would then have purchased me about 15,000 acres of land, namely as much as I am now accused to have. These 15,000 acres could not yield me less than, at £2 per acre, £1500 per annum, especially receiving the rents of May-day preceding. This year's rent, with £550 for my salary and practice, &c., till December 1656, would have bought me even then (debentures growing dearer) £6000 in debentures, whereof the five-sevenths then paid would have been about £4000 neat, for which I must have had about 8000 acres more, being as much almost as I conceive is due to me. The rent for 15,000 acres, and 8000 acres for three years, could not have been less than £7000; which, with the same three years' salary, namely £1650, would have been near £9000 estate in money, above the above-mentioned £1500 per annum in lands. The which whether it be more or less than what I now have, I leave to all the world to examine and judge. This estate I might have got without ever meddling with surveys, much less with the more fatal distribution of lands after they were surveyed, and without meddling with the Clerkship of the Council, or being Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant;

all which had I been so happy as to have declined, then had I preserved an universal favour and interest with all men, instead of the odium and persecution I now endure."

How far this ingenious representation would have availed may be doubted; but Petty was saved by the great national revolution of May 1660, although he had certainly had as little to do as any one possibly could have in bringing it about. He had been, as we have seen, a highly favoured *protégé* of the Republican government almost ever since it had got itself fairly established in the country; he was the personal friend and intimate of Henry Cromwell; he had sat as his nominee in Richard's late parliament; he had even since the extinction of that short-lived assembly come before the world as one of the members of Harrington's Rota Club, the last desperate hope of Republicanism, which had continued its sittings down to within about three months of the Restoration. Yet, as soon as that change took place, he dexterously managed to take as much advantage of it as if he had been all along a steady and suffering adherent of the exiled family. It is true there is no reason to suppose that he really cared anything for either Republicanism or Monarchy in the abstract, or had the least preference for the one over the other. In this respect he went far beyond his friend Hobbes, who had a political belief, or philosophy, though a somewhat flexible and accommodating one. Petty appears to have been without any political principles,—to have been perfectly indifferent in regard to forms of government. But his

address was matchless and irresistible. He presented himself at Whitehall very soon after King Charles had got back; when, Aubrey relates, "he was presently received into good grace with his Majesty, who was mightily pleased with his discourse." And so was every other person that he came near. Pepys seems to have reckoned him, of all his acquaintance, at once the most instructive and the most agreeable to talk with or listen to. Mentioning that he had met him with some others at a coffee-house, in January 1664, he describes him as in discourse, in his opinion, one of the most rational men that ever he heard speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear.

It was very soon apparent that, wonderfully as he had flourished under the Commonwealth, he was to attain a still greater altitude and spread his branches wider under the restored Royalty. It is remarkable that he had still throughout his fast-mounting fortunes and multiplying revenues clung to his humble Gresham College professorship: it was not till the 8th of March 1661 that he resigned that early preferment. On the 19th of the same month he was appointed one of a Court of Commissioners for the settlement of the Irish forfeited estates; and on the 11th of April he was constituted by patent Surveyor-General of Ireland, receiving at the same time the honour of knighthood. Aubrey even affirms that he received, he means apparently not long after this, a patent creating him Earl of Kilmore in the Irish peerage, which, however, to avoid envy, he suppressed, and would continue to do so during his lifetime, but with the intention

that his son, after his death, should assume the title, with the precedency belonging to it. Meanwhile he contented himself with a seat in the Irish House of Commons for the borough of Enniscorthy.

What he probably deemed best of all, the Act of Settlement, passed in 1662, confirmed him, along with others, in the right to all the forfeited Irish lands of which he had been in possession about a year before the Restoration. Nevertheless, the next year the Court of Innocents, or of Nocents, as it was sometimes called, which sat in Dublin to determine whether the original owners of the estates really had been engaged in the rebellion of 1641, is said to have compelled him to relinquish "the greater part" of what he had thus appropriated. His own expression is only "a great part;" and it is probably more correct. Aubrey asserts that, after and notwithstanding this subtraction, his Irish property in land yielded him a rental of £7000 or £8000 per annum, and that from a hill in Kerry, Mount Mangorto, he could look round upon a vast sweep of fifty thousand acres all his own. He augmented his store, he himself records, not only by living under his income, and by sundry advantageous bargains, but by setting up iron-works and pilchard-fishing and opening the lead-mines and timber trade on his Kerry estates. His genius for money-making, in fact, with its unresting activity and never-failing success, reminds one rather of the sure operation of a machine than of any thing human; it resembles, at least, the instinct of certain of the lower animals, which may indeed be thwarted and impeded

in its efforts, but cannot, any more than one of the established laws or forces of nature, be made to desist, or be ultimately overcome. No reduction of Petty's acquisitions could have done more, one feels, than retard somewhat the rate of their accumulation—a rate which, constantly increasing, might otherwise, so it seems, have attained a rapidity perilous to the entire fabric of the fortune so impetuously whirled along in its ascending path.

As it was, the remainder of his life flowed on in a smooth course. His economical position was now so firmly established, that it might almost be left to take care of itself; his wealth would continue to grow without his giving himself much farther trouble about it. But his ingenious brain loved to be at work. A few years after the Restoration his talent for mechanical invention again broke out in the contrivance of a double-bottomed boat for sailing against wind and tide. Though it sailed very well against the wind, however, it could not be made to move at all before the wind. That, indeed, would not have prevented it from being useful in certain circumstances; but it laboured besides under other inconveniences and drawbacks, which Petty, after occupying himself with it for several years, was unable to remove. So the double-bottomed boat went the way of the double pen.

He was also an active writer. He contributed several papers to the Transactions of the Royal Society, of which he was one of the original members. He is said by Burnet to have been the true author of the "Observations upon the Bills of Mortality," first

published in 1662 under the name of his friend Captain John Graunt. There is no doubt that he at least assisted Graunt in that work. Among Petty's acknowledged works are a "Treatise of Taxes and Contributions," which went through many editions; a Paraphrase of the 104th Psalm in Latin Hexameters; a tract entitled "Quantulumcunque, concerning Money;" an "Essay concerning the growth of the City of London;" "Observations upon the Dublin Bills of Mortality;" "Maps of Ireland;" "Two Essays concerning the People, Housing, Hospitals, &c., of London and Paris;" and "Five Essays in Political Arithmetic." The following, among others, were not published till after his death:—"Political Arithmetic;" "The Political Anatomy of Ireland" (otherwise entitled "A Political Survey of Ireland"); and "Verbum Sapienti; or, an Account of the Wealth and Expense of England."

Petty was nothing of a politician or statesman, or even of a political economist. He was merely a political arithmetician. That is to say, he occupied himself with the consideration of the circumstances of society, and of the forces and activities that pervade it, only in so far as they could be stated and estimated numerically. His social science was little more than an affair of ciphering, a business of addition and subtraction. With all his ingenuity and sharpness, he seldom either sees or looks for anything beyond pounds, shillings, and pence, and the multiplication table. His speculations have mostly more or less of the air of imitations of Dr. Price's demonstration of the miraculous powers of

his compound-interest penny, or of the reverie of the Barber of Bagdad's Fifth Brother over his tray of glass ware. The deduction is throughout, to be sure, as regularly and compactly linked as the history of the House that Jack built; but in respect of any inner substance of sober wisdom it is also frequently very nearly on a level with that celebrated jingle.

Take, for example, his Essay on the Growth of the City of London. It was first published in 1682. He here makes out, perfectly to his satisfaction, by a simple operation or two with figures, that the population of the English capital, if nothing were to check its natural rate of increase, would by the year 1842 reach nearly eleven millions, and that of the whole of the rest of the country rather a higher amount. "Wherefore," he continues, "it is certain and necessary that the growth of the City must stop before the said year 1842, and will be at its utmost height in the next preceding period;" that is, as he goes on to explain, in the year 1802, when the number of the population, he calculates, will be, as nearly as possible, 5,359,000. It would be of advantage, however, he thinks, to keep it down, if that could be done, to about an eighth less, or to 4,690,000 souls. Such a population, he says, would require a space of ground of 10,500 acres, or a circle having a diameter of about four miles and a half; but he would allow, in addition, an unoccupied border space of the breadth of three-quarters of a mile; and he proposes that the whole should be encompassed with a strong wall and a ditch, which might be done for about a million sterling. With such an arrangement he

conceives the city would not only be perfectly safe from foreign enemies, but would be able to lord it over all the rest of the country. "As to intestine parties and factions," he observes, "I suppose that 4,690,000 people united within this great city would easily govern half the said number stationed without it; and that a few men in arms within the said city and wall could also easily govern the rest unarmed, or armed in such a manner as the sovereign shall think fit." He holds, moreover, that a great deal might be done in strengthening the town and keeping the country divided and weak by the aid of religion. "As to uniformity of religion," he says, "I conceive, that, if St. Martin's Parish may (as it doth) consist of about 40,000 souls, that this great city also may as well be made but as one parish, with seven times one hundred and thirty chapels; in which might not only be an uniformity of common prayer, but in preaching also; for that a thousand copies of one judiciously and authentically composed sermon might be every week read in each of the said chapels, without any subsequent repetition of the same as in the case of homilies. Whereas in England (wherein are near ten thousand parishes, in each of which, upon Sundays, holidays, and other extraordinary occasions, there should be about one hundred sermons *per annum*, making about a million of sermons *per annum* in the whole), it were a miracle if a million of sermons, composed by so many men, and of so many minds and methods, should produce uniformity upon the discomposed understandings of above eight millions of hearers."

This, which is put forth not at all as a joke, but quite seriously, may serve for a sufficient specimen of the difference that there is between political arithmetic and political wisdom.*

To set about solving any of the great questions of social philosophy by arithmetic or mathematics may be compared to the fabrication of Latin hexameters by means of tables of spondaic and dactylic words, which make a sort of sense in whatever order they are arranged. The thing can be done according to the letter, or in outside show and semblance. But the antipathy that there is in spirit between moral science and the sciences of lines and numbers is like the antipathy between life and death. The mathematical intellect is altogether opposed to what is properly called the philosophical. Wit, or even eloquence, may be conceived to come out of a mathematical turn of mind, or to be combined with a predominant intellectual tendency in that direction; but hardly either philosophy or poetry. The peculiar kind of vision essential to both is a faculty which mathematical investigation does not need, and by which it would only be perplexed and obscured. There is nothing in the whole range of the mathematics, from Euclid to Laplace, which has the remotest relation to, or bearing upon, either that imaginative manner of apprehension and representation in which poetry consists, or that just appreciation of what cannot be actually measured—that discernment of the spirit without reference to the form—which consti-

* See further extracts from this Essay in *Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, ix., 39—44.

tutes philosophical sagacity and judgment. Petty's writings, at any rate, contain almost as little of sound and original philosophy as of poetry. His views, even when most ingenious, are seldom other than superficial: so much of the case as lies below the surface, which nine times out of ten is in moral speculation by far the larger portion of it, has no existence for him.

Yet in his own way he was unquestionably a person both of strong and various faculty. His wonderful successes in money-making, though not the loftiest path of enterprise, would be alone sufficient evidence of his possession of certain intellectual qualities in extraordinary perfection, as well as of some valuable moral ones;—fertility and readiness in contrivance, clear-headedness and foresight, methodical arrangement, dexterity in taking advantage of circumstances and opportunities, as well as patience, steadiness, perseverance, self-denial, and other virtues of that class. But he evinced the same ability and skill in the devising of all kinds of schemes and arrangements of a merely practical character. Let him take a work in hand suited to his capacity and character of mind, and there was nobody who could perform it more cleverly. Several of his performances, too, at the same time that they answered his own purposes, were of great public utility. The survey which he executed of Ireland, in particular, was an important national service, and one which was long held in high estimation.* Nor are

* Bishop Nicolson states that the set of Irish Maps which Petty published in 1685, and which was sold at first for fifty shillings, was not

there any of his writings which do not contain some acute and suggestive remarks. Although neither what is properly called an original nor even a very profound thinker, he was yet an independent one. His opinions were his own in the sense of being the growth of his own mind,—the result of his own observations and reflections,—and not mere impressions made upon him by the most current or predominant talk of the time, or by the dictation of some favourite authority, as is the case with the opinions, so called, of the generality of people, who on that account are utterly unprofitable and wearisome to talk with; whereas the man who thinks for himself, whether he think very profoundly or no, is always interesting,—besides being, were it only from his rarity, a sort of person whom we are apt to be curious about and to value.

Petty was full of mere cleverness of all kinds. "He can be an excellent droll, if he has a mind to it," says Aubrey, "and will preach extempore incomparably, either the Presbyterian way, Independent, Capucin

when he wrote, about forty years after, to be purchased for twice that sum.—*Irish Historical Library*, p. 16. But, on the other hand, we have the Lord-Lieutenant Henry Earl of Clarendon writing to his brother the Earl of Rochester, from Dublin Castle, on the 17th of November 1685, as follows:—"Though I am well with Sir William Petty myself, and know he means well in the main (it being his interest to have the settlements continue here undisturbed), and does desire that you may privately be informed of all he does, yet I must tell you nobody here (even those in his own circumstances) has any reverence for his notions or calculations, they being in truth, most of them, fallacious. His surveys, upon which most of the settlements are founded, are most abominably erroneous; and, if ever the acts or possessions of men are ravelled into, remember I tell you it will be as much upon advantages will be taken of Sir William Petty's false foundations as upon anything else."—*Clarendon Correspondence*, II. 67.

Friar, or Jesuit." Finding that he could get no other good out of the multifarious theology of the time, with his characteristic economy he extracted from it what it would yield of comedy and laughter. He probably thought what he got in that way but an indifferent compensation for the time he had been obliged to spend in listening to so many sermons; but it was better than nothing.

He would not have seen a great deal to admire in any preaching. He was not a person to find sermons in stones; he was much more likely to discover little else than stones in even the most eloquent sermons. And, instead of being disposed to look for books in the running brooks, he thought that there were only far too many books in the libraries and the booksellers' shops. He told Aubrey that he had read very little since he was one-and-twenty; and he was fond of repeating, after Hobbes, that, if he had read as much as some of his contemporaries, he should have been as ignorant as they were, and have made as few discoveries and improvements.*

Something of this egotism and narrowness was the

* "But in truth Petty is not the author of anything that can be called a discovery in science or the arts. There was considerable resemblance between him and his friend Hobbes in what we may call complexion of intellectual character, however inferior Petty was in literary and philosophical cultivation as well as in original mental power. Both, in particular, had abundance of that self-confidence which may have been partly innate, but which was also strengthened in both by the accident of their having been to a great extent self-educated; for it is evident that so they must both in reality have been, notwithstanding the formal attendance of each for some time at the University."—*Cabinet Portrait Gallery*, vix., 44.

natural concomitant of the independent spirit in which he thought and speculated. His self-estimation, however, appears never to have shown itself offensively in his demeanour to others. On the contrary, his manner was that of a perfect courtier. It was not the least of the arts to which he owed his success in life. We have seen how, according to Aubrey, he charmed Charles the Second as soon as he appeared at Court. Pepys brings him more distinctly before us in his Majesty's company a few years later:—"1st February 1664. Thence to Whitehall; where, in the Duke's chamber, the King came and staid an hour or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there about his boat; and at Gresham College in general: at which poor Petty was, I perceived, at some loss; but did argue discreetly, and bear the unreasonable follies of the King's objections, and other bystanders', with great discretion; and offered to take odds against the King's best boats; but the King would not lay, but cried him down with words only."

Petty's personal appearance, too, must have been advantageous in his best days. Aubrey describes him as "a proper handsome man," standing six feet high, with a "good head of brown hair, moderately turning up." "His eyes," the delineation proceeds, "are a kind of goose-grey, but very short-sighted, and as to aspect beautiful, and promise sweetness of nature; and they do not deceive, for he is a marvellous good-natured person and ευσπλαγχνος [tender-bowelled]. Eyebrows thick, dark, and straight. His head is very large, μακροκεφαλος." In his youth, it is added, his

figure was slender, but for twenty years past he had been growing very plump, so that he was now *abdomine tardus* (or heavy-paunched). This was written in 1680.

Petty appears to have resided for the rest of his life chiefly in England; but he occasionally visited Ireland, in the parliament of which kingdom he continued to retain a seat. He lived on the best terms with King James the Second, and just escaped the Revolution. "He died," Aubrey writes, "at his house in Piccadilly Street, almost opposite to St. James's Church, on Friday, 16th day of December 1687, of a gangrene in his foot, occasioned by the swelling of the gout." He had only, therefore, reached the age of sixty-four. He was buried, beside his father and mother, in the church of his native Romsey. The spot is marked by a flat stone, bearing the simple inscription—apparently the composition as well as spelling of the village stone-cutter,—*Here layes Sir William Pety.*

He had in 1667 married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, of Castletown, in the county of Limerick, Knight, and widow of Sir Maurice Fenton, Baronet. Aubrey describes her as "a very beautiful and ingenious lady, brown, with glorious eyes." By her Sir William had three sons and a daughter,—"very lovely children," says Aubrey, "but all like the mother."* The daughter, named Anne, was she who became the

* In a note Aubrey adds:—"He hath a natural daughter that much resembles him, no legitimate child so much, that acts at the Duke's Playhouse, who hath had a child by —— about 1679. She is (1680) about twenty-one." This young lady probably inherited her acting talent from her father, with other mental or moral qualities and dispositions, as well as some points of her personal appearance.

wife of the first Earl of Kerry. John, the first-born of the three sons, had died in infancy in January 1670. Nothing more was heard upon Petty's death of his reported Earldom of Kilmore. "I expected," says Aubrey, "that his son would have broken out a Lord or Earl; but it seems he had enemies at the Court at Dublin, which out of envy obstructed the passing of his patent." In December 1688, however, about a year after the death of her husband, Lady Petty was made by James the Second an Irish peeress for life, with the title of Baroness of Shelburne, in the county of Wexford; and at the same time Charles, the elder of the two surviving sons, was created Baron of Shelburne, also in the peerage of Ireland, with limitation to the heirs male of his body. The privy seals were issued on the 6th of that memorable month, the patents on the 31st, in the very throes of the Revolution. The two creations were the last made by the Stuart King. The new Lord and his mother, nevertheless, at once transferred their allegiance to King William; whereupon the family estates in Ireland were sequestered, and Lady Shelburne and her two sons attainted, by the Parliament there. But all that was soon set right again. Lady Shelburne survived her husband for more than twenty years; she died in February 1708. Her son, Charles Lord Shelburne, although he was married, had no issue; so that that peerage also became extinct on his death in April 1696. In 1699, however, it was restored to his younger brother Henry, who was further in 1719 raised to the higher Irish dignities of Viscount Dunkerron, in the county of Kerry, and Earl

of Shelburne. The Irish estates alone to which this youngest of Petty's sons had succeeded were found, when they were re-granted to him by a patent of confirmation soon after the death of his brother, to extend to upwards of 135 square miles of English statute measure; and he had also property in England, where he sat in parliament for several years, first for Great Marlow, and afterwards for Chipping Wycombe, besides having been made a Privy Councillor soon after the accession of Queen Anne. He married a daughter of Charles Boyle Lord Clifford, son of Richard second Earl of Cork and first Earl of Burlington,* and by her he had three sons and a daughter; all of whom, however, died before him, leaving no issue. The daughter lived to be married; and so did the youngest of the sons, James, styled Viscount Dunkerron; the latter even became the father of a boy, which lived for about six months; but the Viscount himself died in September 1750, within less than a twelvemonth after his mother. The old Earl, thus stript of wife and children, and, with all his wealth, left without a descendant, only survived his son about seven months; he died at London on the 17th of April 1751. In the interval, however, he had bequeathed his great estate to the Honourable John Fitzmaurice, the second surviving son of his sister Anne Countess of Kerry, who thereupon, as has been already related, assumed the surname of Petty, and, having been immediately created Viscount Fitzmaurice in the Irish peerage, was soon after raised to his uncle's late dignity of Earl of Shelburne, and

* Lord Clifford died before his father. See *ante*, p. 43.

was at last made a peer of Great Britain by the title of Baron Wycombe; all which honours, with the higher British titles acquired by his son, and also the Irish honours of the elder branch of the family, have now devolved upon his grandson, the present Marquis of Lansdowne.*

Even in his own estimation, Sir William Petty seems to have been greatest as a maker or gatherer of money, and the architect of his own fortune. He told Aubrey that all he ever got by legacies in his life was only ten pounds, which was not paid; and that, while some men came into preferment accidentally, as, for example, by making acquaintance at an inn, or on the road, or on board ship, with one who could befriend and help them forward, he never had met with any such opportunity. The history of his life which he gives in his will is, as we have seen, occupied almost exclusively with the progress of his gains and accumulations. On the whole, at the date of drawing up that document, about two years before his death, he reckons his landed estate to be about £6700 a year, his personal property to be £46,412, yielding an income of £4641, and what he calls the demonstrable improvement of his Irish lands £3659 a year; making an entire annual revenue of about £15,000.

Something of his character is also shown by the arrangements which he makes for the disposal of his wealth after his death. He calculates that his eldest son will have an income of about £8000 a year, which he remarks is very well, and his youngest one of about

* See *ante*, pp. 252, 253.

half as much; he leaves to his daughter about £20,000; and to his wife, whom he appoints his executrix, and, so long as she shall continue unmarried, the guardian of their children, a jointure of £1587, which might be augmented with the increase of the rents out of which it was to come, together with personal property to the amount of £9000, which she might do what she chose with at her death. And then he subjoins:—"I would advise my wife to spend the whole of her £1587 *per ann.*, that is to say, on her own entertainment, charity, and munificence, without care of increasing her children's fortunes; and I would she would give away one third of the abovementioned £9000 at her death, even from her children, upon any worthy object, and dispose of the other two-thirds to such of her children and grandchildren as pleased her best, without regard to any other rule or proportion." There is not only good sense in all this, but what we may even call a liberal spirit.

Another will which he had made many years before this had contained some rather singular bequests, if we may rely upon the report of Pepys, whose Diary contains the following entry under date of 22nd March 1665:—"Sir William Petty did tell me that in good earnest he hath in his will left some part of his estate to him that could invent such and such things. As, among others, that could discover truly the way of milk coming into the breasts of a woman; and he that could invent proper characters to express to another the mixture of relishes and tastes. And says, that to him that invents gold he gives nothing for the philosopher's

stone; for, says he, they that find out that will be able to pay themselves. But, says he, by this means it is better than to go to a lecture [that is, better than that it should go to found a lecture]; for here my executors, that must part with this, will be sure to be well convinced of the invention before they do part with their money." Perhaps Petty was only amusing himself with the eager credulity of his acquaintance and admirer; at all events there is nothing of what Pepys mentions in the will that has actually come down to us. He directs that his funeral charges shall not exceed £300, and he leaves £150 to set up a monument in the church of Romsey to his grandfather, his father and mother, and his brothers and sisters; £5 for a stone in Lothbury Church, London, to his brother Anthony, who died in 1649; and £50 for a small monument in St. Bride's Church, Dublin, to his son John, and another near kinsman there interred. Another £100, he adds, may be bestowed upon a monument for himself, to be erected wherever he may die or be buried. And then he proceeds in the following characteristic style:—"As for legacies for the poor, I am at a stand. As for beggars by trade and election, I give them nothing; as for impotents by the hand of God, the public ought to maintain them; as for those who have been bred to no calling or estate, they should be put upon their kindred; as for those who can get no work, the magistrates should cause them to be employed, which may be well done in Ireland, where is fifteen acres of improveable land for every head; prisoners for crimes, by the King; for debt, by their prosecutors. As for those who compas-

sionate the sufferings of any object, let them relieve themselves by relieving such sufferers, that is, give them alms *pro re natâ*, and for God's sake relieve those several species above-mentioned, where the above-mentioned obligees fail in their duties. Wherefore I am contented that I have assisted all my poor relations, and put many into a way of getting their own bread, and have laboured in public works and by inventions, have sought out real objects of charity, and do hereby conjure all who partake of my estate from time to time to do the same at their peril. Nevertheless, to answer custom, and to take the surer side, I give £20 to the most wanting of the parish wherein I die."

The conclusion of the curious document will complete the picture of this worldly-wise, dexterous, and highly successful man, this minor Franklin:—"As for the education of my children, I would that my daughter might marry in Ireland, desiring that such a sum as I have left her might not be carried out of Ireland. I wish that my eldest son may get a gentleman's estate in England, which, by what I have gotten already, intend to purchase, and by what I presume he may have with a wife, may amount to between £2000 and £3000 per annum, and by some office he may get there, together with an ordinary superlucration, may reasonably be expected; so as I may design my youngest son's trade and employment to be the prudent management of our Irish estate for himself and his elder brother, which, I suppose, his said brother must consider him for. As for myself, I being now about threescore and two years old, I intend to attend the

improvement of my lands in Ireland; and to get in the many debts owing unto me; and to promote the trades of iron, lead, marble, fish, and timber, whereof my estate is capable. And, as for studies and experiments, I think now to confine the same to the Anatomy of the People and Political Arithmetic; as also to the improvement of ships, land-carriages, guns, and pumps, as of most use to mankind, not blaming the studies of other men. As for religion, I die in the profession of that faith, and in the practice of such worship, as I find established by the law of my country, not being able to believe what I myself please, nor to worship God better than by doing as I would be done unto, and observing the laws of my country, and expressing my love and honour to Almighty God by such signs and tokens as are understood to be such by the people with whom I live, God knowing my heart even without any at all. And thus, begging the Divine Majesty to make me what he would have me to be both as to faith and good works, I willingly resign my soul into his hands, relying only on his infinite mercy, and the merits of my Saviour, for my happiness after this life, where I expect to know and see God more clearly than by the study of the Scriptures and his works I have been hitherto able to do. Grant me, O Lord, an easy passage to thyself, that, as I have lived in thy fear, I may be known to die in thy favour. Amen."

PERCY THE TRUNKMAKER.

ANTIQUITY alone seems to be insufficient to give to some family names a dignity of sound corresponding to their position. The names of Fox, and Phips, and Petty have all now been ennobled for several generations; it is true that they have not any of them, perhaps, the advantage of being naturally very musical or imposing; but *Petty*, for instance, as a mere dissyllabic articulation, surely becomes the mouth and fills the ear nearly as well as *Percy;* yet what a difference between them in the power of filling the mind! A name is made noble to the imagination only by being associated with noble deeds, and shining in the story or tradition of heroic ages.

After having been occupied with some cases in which names destitute of all old renown have suddenly been made conspicuous in modern times by the honours of the peerage, we are now to meet with a claimant of such honours, and the bearer of one of the most famous of our old family names, in a comparatively very humble condition of life. The rapid rise of the descendants of Petty the Clothier and Dyer of Romsey, and Phips the Gunner of Bristol, to be Marquises of Lansdowne and Normanby seems less strange than that the Percy of

Northumberland should present himself to us in the disguise of a respectable Trunkmaker of Dublin.

When Josceline eleventh Earl of Northumberland died, at the age of twenty-six, in 1670, leaving only an infant daughter,* the male line of Josceline of Lovaine, or at any rate that of his descendant the first Lord Percy, who died in 1315, was understood to have come to an end. That no one, at any rate, of the last six Earls had an heir male in existence was supposed to be quite certain. The last of them, young as he was at the time of his death, had been married for seven or eight years, and, besides his eldest child, the daughter who survived him, had been the father of a son, and also of a second daughter; but they were both cut off in early infancy before himself. He was the only son of his father, the tenth Earl; who, again, of the two sons of his father, the ninth Earl, was the only one who had issue. The eighth Earl had eight sons, but none of them was believed to have had issue except the eldest, who was his successor. The seventh Earl left only daughters; the sixth neither sons nor daughters.† And it was held that the male line of the fifth Earl, who had three sons, was also extinct.

In these circumstances, Charles the Second conferred the Earldom in 1674 upon George Fitzroy, one of his natural sons by the Duchess of Cleveland, whom in 1683 he further created Duke of Northumberland.

A claim to the ancient honours of the house of Percy by right of inheritance had, however, been advanced very soon after the decease of Earl Josceline. That

* See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 111.

† See *ante*, vol. ii., p. 112.

event, according to Dugdale, took place, at Turin, on the 21st of May 1670;* and the claimant landed in England from the continent on the 11th of October in the same year.

He was a Mr. James Percy, of Dublin, in which city he had carried on, as it would appear for many years, and not unprosperously, the business of a trunkmaker. He was at this time of the age of fifty-one, and a married man, or a widower, with a family.

The first thing he did was to call upon the Senior Countess, as he calls her, that is, the widow of the tenth Earl, who was a Howard, a daughter of the second Earl of Suffolk; by her he was referred to her daughter-in-law, the widow of Earl Josceline. But it was for some time reported that the young Countess was with child,—a fact which might have saved the Trunkmaker all farther trouble; so he waited for a little till he should see what would happen.

It was probably on occasion of some subsequent attempt to obtain access to one of these ladies—which of them is not clear—that, having been thrown, as he frankly admits, into a great passion by her ladyship refusing to see him, and only peeping at him through a window, he went home and indited the following verses:—

"Wealth is a giant grown so high
That can a Percy now defy;
Though, like David with sling and stones,
Shows great champion's blood and bones.

* Dugdale lived at the time, but the compiler of the article on the Percies in the fifth edition of Collins doubts this date. (*Peerage*, II. 468.) It can only be wrong in the month or the day.

Saul, seeking asses, kingdom met;
James seeks his right, finds foes too great.
Pray God give me a zealous heart,
That I may seek the better part:
Then shall I sing his praises clear;
Scorn to peep through a window here,
This is done, that it shall be said
A Percy lives, though Josceline's dead.
Resolved I am to spend my all,
Before a Percy's name shall fall."

But, having learned that these lines, which he had sent to the Countess, had given great disgust (he does not say whether to her ladyship's moral or to her critical sense), he afterwards composed and printed a few additional couplets in a milder vein, which he hoped would have a mollifying effect:—

"An Impostor is a base name;
By doing justice clears the shame,
And blows away the clouds so high,
Makes truth shine clear as sun in sky.
I trust in God, that can restore,
If not on earth, to heaven's shore."

At length, on the 3rd of February 1672, he formally lodged his claim at the Signet-Office, Whitehall; and he soon after presented a petition to the King, whose answer, he says, was, "God forbid we should hinder an heir, but that he should have the benefit of the law." The case came before the House of Lords in the next session, which commenced on the 4th of February 1673.

The outline of the proceedings is given in the Journals. It appears that on the 18th of February a petition was read from Elizabeth Countess Dowager of Northumberland, on behalf of herself and the Lady Elizabeth Percy,

her daughter, complaining that one calling himself James Percy (by profession a trunkmaker in Dublin, Ireland,) had assumed to himself the titles of Earl of Northumberland and Lord Percy, to the dishonour of their family. It must be admitted that "James Percy, Earl of Northumberland and Trunkmaker," if the claimant actually assumed that style, would have an odd look in the heading of a tradesman's bills. The Countess Dowager's petition was referred to the Committee for Privileges. Two days afterwards a petition from the Trunkmaker was, as soon as it had been read, ordered to be dismissed the House; but that was perhaps on account of some technical informality. The charge made by the Countess was taken into consideration by the Committee of Privileges on the 27th, when Percy was ordered to make his answer to it in writing. This he did; and at the same time, or immediately after, he sent in another petition claiming the peerage. A month for preparation was now allowed to both parties. Then, on the 28th of March, the witnesses tendered by the Claimant having been examined, and his Counsel heard, the Committee came to the following resolution:—"It is ordered, that the House be informed of the difficulties of the case; and that the Committee are of opinion that the House direct that his Majesty may be moved that the House may hear his title." *

* These notes of the Proceedings of the Committee for Privileges are given from their Minute Book in the "Report of the Select Committee [of the Lords] appointed to search for Precedents relative to the matters contained in the Petition of Lord Charles Vere Ferrars Townshend," ordered to be printed 30th May 1842.

On the same day, it is recorded in the Journals, the Earl of Carlisle acquainted the House that the Earl of Suffolk and himself had moved his Majesty to give the House leave to hear James Percy concerning his claim, and that his Majesty had in consequence given leave to the House to hear and determine the same. On this, Percy's petition was read; and then he and his Counsel appeared at the bar, and also Counsel for the Countess Dowager to support her charge of his being an impostor. It was arranged that the latter should be first heard; but, after the case for the Countess had been fully stated, Percy's Counsel positively declined to reply to the arguments that had just been addressed to the House without a further allowance of time.* Their lordships professed their willingness to grant the additional time prayed for, if the Claimant would only "make appear any probability towards his claim;" but he, or probably rather his Counsel, absolutely refused to enter upon the subject at that moment, although he had had above forty witnesses sworn at the bar of the House. Upon this, it was resolved that both his petitions—his claim of peerage and his request for longer time—be dismissed the House, and also that the consideration of the further proceedings to be adopted against him should be taken up on the following morning. The resolution appears to have been passed with no further opposition than a dissent entered by the Earl

* Percy's leading Counsel upon this occasion was Mr. Sergeant (afterwards Sir Francis) Pemberton, who subsequently rose to be first a Puisne Judge and then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was thence transferred to the Chief-Justiceship of the Common Pleas, and after all ended his days a practitioner at the Bar.

of Anglesey, who before he was made an English peer had been Viscount Valentia of the kingdom of Ireland, and may possibly have had some private relations with the Dublin trunkmaker. The adjournment of the House the next day, however, and a long parliamentary recess of seven months, saved Percy from the further measures threatened in the resolution.

But, strange as it may be thought, the would-be Earl of Northumberland had made his first move with such precipitation, that he was down to this time unprovided with any distinct theory or notion of the shape which his claim ought to take, or the grounds on which it rested. He had only a decided conviction that he was the rightful heir to the title; the precise relationship in which he stood to the late Earl, or any of his predecessors, he did not know. In these circumstances he had,—by the advice of his Counsel, as he says,—fixed upon an ancestor for himself, in the first instance, merely upon a tentative principle, or on the calculation that the discussion, or even confutation, of the pedigree so put forward might probably throw light enough upon the subject to enable him to make out his true descent. So he boldly claimed to be the great-grandson of Sir Richard Percy, the fifth son of Henry the eighth Earl, and one of the seven younger brothers of Henry the ninth Earl, styled the Wizard.

This would seem to have been a singularly inconsiderate choice. Sir Richard had died, in France, in 1648 or 1649, hardly a quarter of a century ago; and it must have been easy to produce many witnesses to whom he had been well known, and who could testify

that no legitimate descendants of his had ever been heard of before the present claim was advanced. In fact he had never been married. Nor, although two of his brothers, besides the Earl, had been married, had either of them left issue. All this was probably made so clear at the bar of the House of Lords that Percy's Counsel could make no struggle against it, or attempt for a moment to maintain the ground they had taken up. His claim, at any rate, was ultimately placed upon quite another basis.

He pleads, in excuse for his mistake, that he had come forward under great disadvantages. He had, he intimates, been forced in the time of the Commonwealth to leave England on account of his loyal principles, and to remain abroad for some years; in which separation from his kindred, he would have us to understand, he had lost the correct knowledge of his ancestry. Then, when he came back and began to investigate the matter, he was at first misled by a book the Heralds put into his hands, from which he maintains a leaf of the Percy genealogy had been torn out that contained the very information he wanted. Some persons, also, to whom he applied, and who would have been able to set him right, took advantage of his ignorance; in particular a Mr. Henry Champion and a Mr. Orlando Gee, whom he met soon after his arrival in England at a Dr. Lamplugh's, and whom he earnestly prayed to inform him who was his great-grandfather. These appear to have been both old domestics or retainers of the Percies. Champion is spoken of as dwelling at Thistleworth, that is Isleworth, the parish in which their mansion of Sion House is

situate; Gee seems to have resided at their house of Petworth, in Sussex, where, the Trunkmaker incidentally mentions, he had made his claim in the year 1654, as Gee well knew.

It was only his great-grandfather about whom the Claimant was in doubt; he knew who his father and his grandfather were. He himself had been born in the year 1619, and was the only surviving son, and the only son who had left issue, of Henry Percy, by his wife, Lydia, daughter of Robert Cope, of Horton, in Northamptonshire, whom he had married there, at the house of her mother, styled Dame Cope, in 1614. This Henry Percy, again, was the third son of another Henry Percy, described as of Pavenham, in the county of Bedford, whose two elder sons had died without issue. And the tradition of the family, or the story told by the Claimant, was, that his grandfather, Henry Percy of Pavenham, and a younger brother named Robert, with two sisters, had all been, "in the time of the troubles in Queen Elizabeth's days, sent out of the north in hampers to old Dame Vane at Haraden (or Harrowden), in Northamptonshire, and there were brought up, preserved, and provided for." This happened, we are told, about 1559; which, however, may perhaps be a misprint or a mistake for 1569, the year of what is called the Northern Rebellion, which proved so disastrous to the house of Percy.*

Whichever of the two dates we take, the story is irreconcilable with the Claimant's first account of himself, that he was the great-grandson of Sir Richard Percy;

* See *ante*, vol. ii., pp. 90—92.

and it is strange that such a hypothesis should ever have been put forward or adopted for a moment. It could not fail to have been known, if the slightest inquiry had been made, that even Sir Richard's eldest brother, the ninth Earl, was only born in 1563 or 1564.* As for Sir Richard himself, he did not come into existence till the year 1575; nor could he well have been born very much earlier, seeing that he was still alive seventy-three or seventy-four years after that date. To make him to have been the father of four children even by the year 1569 was to throw him back into another generation. Yet, on the other hand, as one of the four had a son married in 1614, they cannot possibly have been born very much later.

The Claimant himself supplies us with a refutation equally decisive. Sir Richard, according to him, was born in 1573. Now his own uncle and godfather, James Percy, his father's eldest brother, who died in Ireland, without issue male, in 1654,† had been born in 1581. "So, by this account," he observes, "Sir Richard must have been a grandfather at eight years of age. This is an impossible thing indeed."

Almost as soon as he had announced his pretensions to the Earldom, the Trunkmaker was surprised by the sudden emergence of a relation of whom he had never heard till then. He was lodging at the house of

* He is said, it seems, in his epitaph at Petworth to have been aged seventy when he died in November 1632; but elsewhere the writer of the article on the Percies in *Collins* states expressly that he was born in April 1564. See *Peerage*, ii. 408 and 435.

† In which year, as we have seen, probably immediately upon the death of his uncle, the present claimant first came forward.

Dr. Chamberlaine (perhaps the author of the well-known volume entitled "The Present State of England"), when a friend came to him and told him of the existence of this person, who called himself William Percy. He appears to have been a natural son of the Trunkmaker's father, by one Mary Varnun, or Varnon, a servant of Dame Cope, with whom Henry Percy had many years after his marriage gone off to London, deserting his wife and children, whom he had a short time previous transferred from Northamptonshire to Dunnington in Lincolnshire. He was a much younger man than his brother James, having been only born in 1627. Nevertheless an attempt was made to put him forward as a rival claimant; it was asserted that he was sprung from the late Henry Lord Percy, the younger brother of Algernon the tenth Earl.* Champion and Gee, it seems, had particularly taken William by the hand. Nothing more could have been intended, however, than to involve the Trunkmaker's claim in additional doubt and confusion. "In policy," says he, "they set up William Percy; thinking they might please him as they do children with an apple." He adds, however:—"Had the agents sent me money so often as they did William, they had done well; but, opposing me, the true heir, against their own know-

* See *ante*, pp. 167, 168.—At first, however, it would appear, this William Varnon, or bastard Percy, had been put forward as the descendant of an elder brother of Sir Richard Percy, William Percy, third son of the eighth Earl, who, according to the account in *Collins* (ii. 407), "being a man of learning and genius, lived retired at Oxford many years, and, dying there, was buried in Christ-Church Cathedral May 28th 1648, having never married."

ledge, they have done very unjustly." The treatment William had received, then, had not been altogether that applied to children. His brother dismisses the subject with much contempt and indignation, in a passage which at the same time throws some light upon his own position and circumstances:—"Now suppose they had proved Mary Varnon married; yet I was seven years elder. But to put up a poor indigent man, a journeyman glover, and christening his children to deceive the world; and to slight the true heir, because I was a trunkmaker! The trade is good, and by God's blessing it hath given me bread in the extremity of my travels, till I obtained the merchandising trade; and can make my three sons freemen and merchants of London, and Dublin in Ireland, and of Norwich in Norfolk; and have likewise trained them up to handicrafts; so that, if they fail in the mystery of merchandising, they may, with God's blessing, live upon their ingenuity." Whatever may be thought of his ambition to be a lord, the Trunkmaker was evidently, in his natural and proper sphere, a person by no means wanting either in prudence or manliness of character.

He maintains that his father and himself had always been recognised by the Earls of Northumberland as their near relations. And this may be true. Old Henry the ninth Earl,—that is, Henry the Wizard—was, he affirms, made very angry by his father's deserting his wife, and going off with his mother's maid. Henry's son Algernon, the next Earl, before his only son Josceline was born, owned "James of Ireland" to be the heir to the honours of his house, if

his brother Henry Lord Percy should die (as in fact he did) without issue male. This he did repeatedly; and upon one occasion, also, he sent the Dublin tradesman a present of a hundred pounds. Henry Lord Percy, likewise, on his deathbed, declared the Trunkmaker to be his heir, if his brother's son should die. Finally, the late Earl Joscelin did the same, crying out in his last moments, "Oh that he were here now!"

It seems very unlikely that this should be all a baseless fabrication. Without taking the facts literally as reported by the Claimant, we shall probably be safe in accepting them as proving, that the Irish Percies were regarded as connexions of the noble English house. The Trunkmaker, moreover, places much reliance upon another piece of evidence, which is of a more curious description. He himself, he tells us, came into the world bearing on his body a mole like a half-moon,—"as hath been the like on some of the Percies formerly." "Now search William Percy," he exclaims, "and see if God hath marked him so." So again, in another place:—"The Claimant hath submitted beyond reason, law, and equity. God himself is the Claimant's witness; for he hath set to his seal a crescent, a badge which belongs to the Percy family, which he was born into the world with; and is descended of a family of near thirty generations." So once more, in an exposition which appears to have been drawn up in the year 1680:—"God hath not set the half-moon in vain upon the Claimant, but the world may look upon it to be the Almighty's candle to find out the true heir male." The half-moon was the well-

known badge or cognisance of the Percies, borne on their banner, or pennon, whenever it was displayed in the march or the battle,—as we may read in the old ballad of *The Rising in the North*:—

> "Earl Percy there his ancient spread,
> The half-moon shining all so fair." *

The Claimant by no means looked upon the dismissal of his petition by the House of Lords as making an end of his case. He only considered himself to be left by their lordships to the maintenance of his rights by the ordinary powers of the law. Accordingly, in Trinity Term 1674 he brought an action in the Court of King's Bench against John Clarke, Esquire, for scandal and defamation. Clarke had called him an impostor. The case was tried by Sir Matthew Hale; and, although the plaintiff complains that some of his witnesses did not appear, Hale, he says, declared in open court that he had proved himself a true Percy, of the blood and family of the Percies of Northumberland, legitimate by father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, and expressed his belief that he really was cousin and next heir to the late Earl Josceline; but he was afraid, his lordship added, that he had taken his descent a little too low, and he advised him to come better prepared the next time. For the present he was obliged to submit to a nonsuit.

* The claimant quotes a passage from Sir W. Churchill's *History* (meaning the *Divi Britannici* of the Duke of Marlborough's father, published in 1675), fol. 127, to the effect, that, "upon a tripartine exchange," the countries from Trent to the northward fell to the lot of the Percies; in memory whereof they adopted a half-moon for their cognisance, that being the geographical form of the said jurisdiction.

It was probably soon after this that he adopted his new and reformed scheme of descent. He now brought a second action against Sir John Copleston, described as "trustee for the Lady Clifford," for the recovery of certain lands in Somersetshire, which he claimed as falling to the heir male of the Percies, but which had been granted to her ladyship by the Crown. "Sir John," we are told, "sheltered himself under the privilege [of being the servant or agent of a peeress] as long as he could, but at length was forced to a trial; when the Petitioner proved himself to be son of Henry Percy, grandson of Henry Percy, Esquire, *great-grandson of Sir Ingelram Percy, great-great-grandson of Henry Percy fifth Earl of Northumberland.*" The defendant, Coplestone, nevertheless, obtained a verdict, with £80 of costs; for which the Trunk-maker complains that he was afterwards violently pursued.

By this time, then, the Claimant had pruned his pedigree of Sir Richard Percy, the son of the seventh Earl, and had found for himself another great-grandfather, Sir Ingelram Percy, a son of the fifth. This substitution certainly allowed space enough for the number of generations; for Sir Ingelram, or Ingram, had died in 1538, more than a whole century before Sir Richard. The difficulty would now be rather the other way; if the Claimant's grandfather was the son of Sir Ingelram, he must have been born at the least seventy-five or seventy-six years before the marriage of his son, and about ninety years before the birth of his grandson, the illegitimate offspring of Mary Varnon,—

intervals by no means impossible, but yet considerably beyond what are usual.

Holding, however, by this new genealogy, the indomitable Trunkmaker, on the 13th of June 1676, as if he had taken his two defeats or failures only as lessons and encouragements, once more advanced to the assault by bringing a third action against John Blackeston, Esquire, whom he charged, as he had done Clarke, with scandal and defamation. The case, having been removed from Guildhall, in the City of London, to the King's Bench at Westminster, on the motion of the defendant, did not come on for trial till the 7th of May in the following year. Nor was it tried even then. The plaintiff was ready, with an array of no fewer than fourteen Counsel, and with sixty-five witnesses, the sum of the distances travelled by whom he calculates to have been full four thousand miles; his expenses altogether had amounted to about £400; when, as he tells the story in a Petition some years afterwards addressed to the House of Commons, the defendant's Counsel protested against the case being so much as entered upon, on the ground that Blackeston was the servant and agent of the Countess Dowager of Northumberland, being Steward of her Courts and Receiver of her Rents,* and that, having been upon his employment as such when he uttered the words charged as scandalous and defamatory, he was protected by her ladyship's privilege of peerage. "Whereupon," proceeds the statement, "all your Petitioner's Counsels

* He is elsewhere described as Steward to the Lady Elizabeth Percy, to whom the Countess Dowager was guardian.

refused to plead, although the Court would have heard them and proceeded to trial upon the cause; but the Counsel replied, they had no mind to go to the Tower, some of them having been there before. And thus the trial was put off. Whereupon Mr. Justice Wilde, hearing these things, stood up, and said in open Court; —'Fye, fye, Gentlemen, is this a time to insist upon privilege; when you forced the plaintiff to the trial, and have put him to so great expense, travel, and labour? You do but cast cold water upon your cause. It is not the first time this cause hath been before this Court.'" Blackeston, upon being questioned, avowed that in any event the Countess was to bear him harmless.

On the 14th of May in the same year there had been, it seems, another trial in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, for scandalising the Claimant's right and title; who was the defendant is not stated, but the plaintiff obtained a verdict with £300 damages. He adds, however, after having noted this solitary instance of success, "Your Petitioner hath been all along perplexed and troubled by many suits at law, unjustly commenced against him by the agents of the defendants, or some of them, on purpose to tire him out and ruin him by chargeable defences; and it is now almost eight years since he began his claim." At the commencement of the Petition he had represented himself as having been almost nine years engaged in the affair; "all which time," the appeal in that part goes on, "he hath vigorously and industriously pursued his right, though against so great and unequal force and opposition that he hath not been able to prevail; and,

therefore, humbly craves leave to bring the state of his case, and the narrative of his proceedings, before this Honourable House, imploring their assistance to appear, mediate, and interpose for his relief."

In a subsequent paper, which he entitles his "Further Complaint, since the last parliament was prorogued and dissolved," (meaning, apparently, the parliament which was dissolved after it had sat for two sessions in the summer of 1679), the Claimant relates the final issue of his contest with Blackeston. The defendant had gone on seeking to shelter himself under the privilege not only of the Countess of Northumberland, but of the Duke of Monmouth and others of the nobility whose rights it was contended were involved; and the case was repeatedly deferred, to the great increase of the plaintiff's expenses. At last it was brought to trial on the 6th of February 1679; when the result was, that the poor Trunkmaker was again nonsuited on technical grounds. Upon this his Counsel gave it as their opinion that there was no relief for him but by Act of Parliament.

His troubles, meanwhile, had been further thickened by the conduct of his solicitor, a Mr. Thomas Swayne, of Pimbourne (Pimpern?), in Dorsetshire, whom he characterises as a great scoundrel. Mr. Champion, he relates, once asked him, when they were walking together in the Temple Garden, who had helped him to his solicitor. "I believe yourself or the devil," answered Percy, "sent him to me." Swayne, after he had been obliged to turn him off, got up three successive suits at law against his late client, which lasted for

three years; the attorney was cast in all the three actions, but he eluded all attempts to catch him, so that Percy never recovered his costs.

If Swayne was to be believed, one of his services had been the opening a negociation with Viscount Newport for the marriage of his client's eldest son with one of his Lordship's daughters; but the Trunkmaker does not seem to think that that matter had gone very far. Newport, Swayne asserted, could do what he pleased with the Duke of Monmouth; and he and some others were understood to have been equal sharers with the Duke in a sum of £12,000 for which his Grace had sold some of the Percy lands, worth not less than £9000 or £10,000 a year, of which he had got a grant, they having fallen to the Crown in default, as it was held, of a male heir of the old family. The Trunkmaker had interviews himself both with Newport and Monmouth. His account of what passed with the Duke is as follows:—"He told the Complainant that he should have a fair trial at law [against Blackeston]; and, if the claimant proved himself heir male, God forbid he should hinder him. Upon which the Plaintiff returned with great joy; posted away into Northumberland, and delivered declarations in ejectment upon those lands the Duke had recovered of the Countess upon pretence there was no heir male of the Percies living. But, when the Claimant was bringing the trial on, privilege was set up; whereupon the Claimant went to Mr. Rosse, the Duke's secretary, to know why it was so, when the Duke did promise he would not stand upon privileges, but a fair trial should be had. Mr. Rosse replied, the

Duke could not set aside his privilege. To declare [by] how many persons, and how oft, the Claimant hath been put off by privileges would be too tedious for the reader."

The Lady Elizabeth Percy, daughter of the late Earl Josceline, was married towards the close of the year 1679 to the Earl of Ogle, heir apparent of the Duke of Newcastle; and thereupon Lord Ogle had by royal licence assumed the name and arms of Percy, and his agents, it was said, were going about asserting that "the ten years' claimant," was run away. "But, by God's providence," writes the latter, "I remain at Mr. Ralph Carter's house, a trunkmaker, in Fleet Street, over against Sergeant's Inn, where the messenger may find James Percy to serve the King's royal writ of summons." "Why," he indignantly adds, "may not James Percy, the true heir to the Earldom of Northumberland, be called from a trunkmaker's house to take his place and seat in the Right Honourable House of Peers according to his birth-right and title?"

The *soi-disant* Earl is on all occasions, it must be admitted, perfectly frank and unreserved in speaking of the humblest of his friends and connexions. "Now," he elsewhere writes, "for Alexander Percy, gentleman, of Ireland, that rides in the Life Guards; and Mr. Roger Percy, shoemaker, at Charing Cross; and Mr. Francis Percy, shoemaker, in Cambridge; and his brother, a tailor; I acknowledge them to be cousins, and descended from the sons of Robert Percy, my great-uncle. And by reason I know not which is the eldest, and nearest of kin of that collateral line,

therefore I most humbly pray that the Heralds may take notice, and help them to find out the truth of seniority. For my cordial endeavours are to preserve the moon from being misted or eclipsed any more."

The Claimant had long felt satisfied that he had been altogether wrong—or "wildernized," as he calls it—in deriving himself from the eighth Earl of Northumberland. He did not, however, make any attempt to have his case brought in its reformed shape before the House of Lords while Charles the Second's Long Parliament continued to sit. Nor probably had he an opportunity of submitting it during the ten or twelve weeks, in the spring of 1679, that the next parliament lasted. But in little more than a month after the meeting of what is called the Fourth Parliament of this reign, namely, on the 25th of November 1680, a Petition was read from James Percy, claiming the Earldom of Northumberland, desiring that a day might be appointed for him to be heard to make out his title. Whether any debate arose does not appear; all that is stated is that the petition was rejected. The Earl of Anglesey, however, still stood the friend of his countryman, and protested against this decision for the following reasons: First, that the claim was one which could be examined nowhere but in that House; Secondly, that it was unjust to reject any such claim without a hearing; Thirdly, that the course taken in this instance was contrary to precedent and constant usage; Fourthly, that the dismissal of the claim by a former parliament

was no sufficient reason, in the circumstances, why it should not be reconsidered by the present.*

It was undoubtedly, to all intents and purposes, a new case. A claim of succession, whether to honours or property, has its essence, or entire substance and meaning, in the line of descent along which it is traced; and its having been defeated or disproved when traced by one line can have no effect or bearing whatever upon its validity when traced by another. That the claimant, for instance, has been shown not to be the grandson of the last possessor can be no answer to the plea that he is his grand-nephew.

The Trunkmaker had formidable difficulties to contend against in attempting to make good his claim to a title which had been given away to one of the king's sons, to say nothing of the opposition of the widow and daughter of the late Earl, and the pecuniary interests of various influential personages—among others, of the Duke of Monmouth, the most potent of all the royal progeny, which would, as it appears, have been interfered with by his success. But even in that bad time it would not have been easy to put down such a claim by any mere formal objection. It could only be got rid of by being taken up on its merits, and made to

* The history of the Trunkmaker's claim is obscured and confused in the version of it given in the elaborate article on the Percies in the fifth edition of *Collins*, by its being assumed that his second pedigree, from the fifth Earl, as well as his first, from the eighth, had been disposed of by the House of Lords when it rejected his petition on the 28th of March, 1673. (See *Peerage*, II. p. 468.) Hale's remark on the trial of the case of the claimant against Clarke in Trinity Term 1674 (see *ante*, p. 299) shows that down to that date Percy still adhered to his first scheme of descent.

appear either not to rest on sufficient evidence or to be refuted by ascertained facts. What evidence Percy brought forward we do not know; his various printed pamphlets contain little or nothing meriting that name. On the other hand there is the strongest reason for believing that, from whomsoever he was sprung, it was no more from Sir Ingelram Percy, the son of the fifth Earl of Northumberland, than it was from Sir Richard Percy, the son of the eighth Earl; for Sir Ingelram's will is still extant in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and therein he makes no mention of any issue he had ever had, except only an illegitimate daughter, to whom he bequeaths twenty pounds, directing that the Countess of Northumberland shall have the use of the money, together with the custody of the child, until the latter shall be of lawful age; the sum of twenty nobles being at the same time left to the child's mother. The will is dated the 7th of June 1538, and the probate shows that Sir Ingelram must have died before the 21st of March in the year following.* This would certainly seem to be conclusive against the pretensions of the Trunkmaker to be descended from that Percy, either in the fourth or in any remoter degree.

Whether Sir Ingelram's will was ever produced during the agitation of the claim does not appear; the claim is rather spoken of as if it had failed simply from the insufficiency of the evidence by which it was understood to be supported. The Claimant, at any rate, was

* *Collins's Peerage*, 1779, II. p. 388.—Sir Ingelram's natural daughter, who was named Isabel, became the wife of Henry Tempest, Esquire, of Broughton, in Yorkshire, ancestor of the Baronets of that name.

certainly not convinced that he had been met by any objection which was insuperable and conclusive. The fact of Sir Ingelram's marriage he conceived to be proved by the confession of his enemy Champion, who had, he repeatedly affirms, been forced to admit it on the trial in which Sir John Coplestone was defendant. Champion was the keeper of the records and papers of the Percy family, and an acknowledgment had probably been extracted from him of his having found some document or notice from which it was inferred that Sir Ingelram had been married and had had a family. But not much reliance can be placed upon a report on that point at once so indistinct and so interested and impassioned as that of the Claimant. From Sir Ingelram's four alleged children having been entrusted to "old Dame Vaux," he further concludes—or, as he says, it was concluded by all—that the mother of the children must have been related to that lady. She was probably the wife of the third Lord Vaux, who died in 1595, after having enjoyed the peerage for nearly forty years.* The Countess of Pembroke, too,—Anne Clifford,—whose great-grandmother was a sister of Sir Ingelram, and who was so ardent a student of the history of her own family, had said, it seems, "that, if the Claimant, James Percy, were her kinsman, he must be descended of those children that were sent into the south in hampers." We are desired to note that "there were but few coaches in those days."

* It appears from *Machyn's Diary*, p. 115, that his father, the second Lord, died in 1556. He was succeeded in 1595 by his grandson, who married the Countess of Banbury. See *ante*, Vol. I. pp. 351—363.

Champion, we are likewise assured, had at last owned both that William, the journeyman glover, was really no other than the son of the late Henry Percy, and that the said Henry, if he had lived, would have been the rightful heir to the Earldom. He at the same time denied, we must suppose, that the Trunkmaker was a son of Henry, or at any rate that he was his legitimate son. But on that head the evidence brought forward at the different trials seems to have been quite satisfactory. Henry Percy, it appears, had at one time lived with Bacon. "Mr. Bushell and Mr. Fleetwood," the Trunkmaker writes in one of his publications, "would often tell me, the Claimant James Percy, that they were fellow-servants with my father, Henry Percy, and have often heard Josceline Percy [the seventh son of the eighth Earl] and the rest of those eight brethren call Henry, the father of James, Cousin, and were wondrous familiar when they met at my Lord Bacon's. Had that Lord continued in prosperity, Henry Percy, his servant, had not known so much misery, nor James Percy, Henry's son, had not run through the gauntlets of extremities."

Moreover, he affirms that before the trial of his action against Clarke, in 1674, his opponents would have owned him for the true heir if he would have agreed to their terms. He speaks as if overtures had been made to him, or a negotiation opened with him, on that understanding. Not only Clarke, Champion, and Gee, all of whom had by favour got hold of certain of the old Percy lands, would have come to such an arrangement, but the family of the late Earl would

have also gone into the scheme. It had been reported from the first that the Senior Countess had said that she would do for,—that is, would stand by,—"an heir male of a true Percy." But, although the Trunkmaker wrote to her ladyship at Sion House, sending the letter by his servant, she declined returning an answer in writing; and she seems also to have refused to see him. Nor did any good come of several applications which he made, both by letters and through his friends, to her daughter-in-law. Yet, nothwithstanding that he had been compelled to submit to a nonsuit in his action against Clarke, he maintains that the evidence produced on that trial, and the opinion expressed by Chief Justice Hale, convinced both the public and Sir Edward Walker, Garter King-at-Arms, that he was what he called himself. Sir Edward, he says, was "very rough" when he first went to him, but afterwards became "more compliant," and rendered him important assistance in making out his amended pedigree, which had just been finished when Sir Edward died (in February 1677).

Gee, he says in another place, once told him, while they were walking together under Whitehall Wall, that, if the late Earl's wife and mother had thought he had had an estate sufficient to support the title, they would have owned him long ago. "If he had not been called from his merchandizing," is the reflection the honest tradesman makes upon this, "by God's blessing he might have obtained such an estate of his own as would have preserved the Percy from a Nevil's lot." He alludes to the case of the gay and gallant Charles

Nevil, tenth and last Earl of Westmoreland, who, after the Northern Rebellion, which cost his confederate the Earl of Northumberland his head,* made his escape to the Netherlands, and there passed in obscurity and penury the remainder of a protracted life.

At so late a date as in June 1674 we have the hopeful enthusiast still seeking to gain over the old Countess. In a letter, which he has printed, addressed to a gentleman resident at Brentford, who professed to have much influence with her ladyship, after desiring him to present an accompanying pamphlet to the Countess, he goes on: "Moreover, if her Honour will be graciously pleased to hear me speak, I could propound that which would silence all our differences. For I am like my cousin Henry Hotspur, who chose to lose his life rather than yield to that which would abate his honour and resolution; but when I find justice founded upon the basis of reason, then I shall, by God's assistance, be found like a Jonathan to David." He was at this time lodging, he states, in the house of Mr. Curtis, in Windsor Court, Mugwell Street, near Cripplegate.

The maintenance of his fancied birthright soon grew to be the one idea that filled the heart of the unfortunate Claimant, and the sole occupation and purpose of his life. Petitioning the King in 1679, or the beginning of 1680, after having remarked that it will be ten years on the 21st of May next since the death of Earl Josceline—a confirmation, by the bye, of Dugdale's date—which might be regarded as the event

* See *ante*, Vol. II. p. 92.

that roused the storm in which he was still involved,—he pathetically reminds his Majesty that "not many of the persecutions have been of that long continuance." "But now," he writes in a subsequent appeal, "the Petitioner is resolved, like Hester, by God's powerful assistance, and your Majesty's gracious acceptance, to stand up for the name of Percy, as that queen kneeled down to save her people;" and, having further reminded Charles how King Darius rescued Daniel out of the Lions' Den, and how God in a most miraculous manner had restored his Majesty himself to his kingdoms, he implores, on the strength of these examples, that he may either be immediately restored to his title, or at any rate that such an allowance may be granted him as, he says, is usual in such cases till the claim can be duly heard and determined. In other passages his language is still more vehement. "Cruel oppression," he exclaims, "still keeps possession; which forces the Claimant to cry out aloud, again, again, and again, for justice." The act of parliament entitling Lord Ogle to draw the rents of certain of the Percy lands "shall never pass both Houses," he declares, "without justice be absolutely buried alive in this our nation." But, though he has been opposed and injuriously treated by his fellow men, Heaven, it is his comfort to think, has all along most manifestly sided with him against his enemies. "Remember," he says, "how Clarke died in the North, and Mr. Champion died in the South. Note, also, after Clarke's trial, I went to Mr. Champion's house at Thistleworth, and told him that God would revenge my innocent cause, for certainly there would

a curse attend such horrid practices." The opposition he had had to encounter had, if we are to believe him, gone even beyond the most unscrupulous employment of legal chicanery and oppression. He affirms that, when he first went into the North to deliver declarations in ejectment, an attempt was made at Newcastle to take him off by poison, in addition to his being arrested at York on two several actions for £20,000 each.

It was not, however, merely to get himself recognised as a nobleman that the Trunkmaker so boldly faced all these perils, and persevered as he did through so much toil and such ruinous pecuniary outlay. Notwithstanding that the lands settled upon the heir male of the Percies had, in the supposed default of such an heir, been resumed by the Crown, and mostly granted away in various directions—"begged, bought, sold, and scattered,"—he felt confident that they were all still recoverable; and they would afford an income by no means to be despised. According to the admission of Mr. Champion, in whose custody the family records were, there were lands that went with the title to the amount of above £4,000 a-year; and that without including the estates of "Old Mr. Rogers," of Somersetshire, which, since the death of that gentleman, without leaving an heir male of his own blood, had also, the Trunkmaker contends, fallen to the male representative of the Percies. Or, even if the lands could not be immediately got hold of, there was the pension from the Crown to which he conceived himself entitled,—a less splendid expectation, it is true, yet still, he acknow-

ledges, such a provision as he could live upon, if he had it, till he should be fully restored to "the sphere and dignity of his ancestors." But what he principally relied upon as a resource, by which he might raise his family to an affluence corresponding to their eminent hereditary position, was matrimony. He had been disappointed, indeed, in his hope of securing one of the daughters of Lord Newport for his eldest son, and that "heir-apparent" appears to have found a wife of humbler condition; the father nowhere mentions her name; but he himself was fortunately in circumstances to take advantage of any opportunity that might present itself of improving his fortune by a wealthy marriage. "Moreover," he writes, in one of his addresses to the King, "your Petitioner remains unmarried; and further hopes that, by God's providence, and your patron-like care, such a match may be obtained that will support the title, and raise the Percies' name to its former splendour." He was therefore at this time a widower; his wife had been Sarah, daughter of John Sayer, of Norwich, gentleman.

He had three sons alive. He speaks, on one occasion, of taking advantage of an unexpected prorogation of parliament, to make a run over to Ireland "to inform, encourage, and direct" his eldest son, Anthony Percy, to stand up to maintain the claim of his father. Anthony, he observes, is "the next heir-apparent;" he had already a son, named Henry; but, if his issue should fail, there were his two younger brothers, Henry and John, upon whom or upon whose descendants his rights and the duty of maintaining them would devolve. Or,

even were all his own descendants in the male line to die, there were still the sons of his uncle Robert, his father's younger brother; so that there was little chance of there being any want of true Percies. He congratulates himself, also, on the prorogation, inasmuch as, if his Majesty will not allow him a maintenance nor appoint him a match, it will afford him an opportunity to recruit his almost exhausted resources. By God's assistance he will never give over his claim.

His second failure in the House of Lords, in November 1680, appears, accordingly, to have had no effect upon him. The moment a parliament reassembles in England, Percy the Trunkmaker is again heard of. The only session of James the Second's only parliament was opened on the 22nd of May 1685, and under date of Monday the 1st of June it is recorded in the Journals of the Lords that a Petition was read from Charles Duke of Somerset and Elizabeth his wife, complaining that James Percy continued falsely to assume to himself the title of Earl of Northumberland, and praying the House to take into its consideration the proceedings formerly had in the same case. Elizabeth Duchess of Somerset is no other than the quondam Lady Elizabeth Percy, the daughter of Earl Josceline and heiress of the vast possessions of her ancient house; young as she still was, she had already lost not only her first husband, Lord Ogle, but a second also, and she had by this time been for more than three years the wife of the Duke. The Petition was referred to the Committee for Privileges. On the 12th of the same month a packet of papers was

found on the table of the House, thus spasmodically superscribed:—"Percy's Petition of Complaint; and the two Petitions that were wanting are annexed; humbly praying that they may be read, and that justice may be had; and he shall ever pray. Equal justice do, or tell the reason why." The packet was not opened, but was also sent to the Committee of Privileges, which was directed to examine and report upon it. The parliament, however, was adjourned within a week, and never met again except for eight or ten days in the following November. In these circumstances the matter was naturally enough forgotten or neglected; there is no notice of any Report having ever been received from the Committee.

But the restoration of parliamentary government by the Revolution is also the revival yet once again of the Trunkmaker and his case. Even before the Convention had been turned into a Parliament, in the middle of February 1689, he had sent in a petition to the Lords. On the 28th of May the Report of the Committee for Privileges, to which it had been referred, was brought up by the Earl of Bridgewater. It recommended that no countenance should be given to the Petitioner, or his claim; but that, on the contrary, a day should be appointed for the consideration of what further proceedings it might be proper to take against him. The Committee had resolved, also, that Percy's presumption, in again styling himself, in his petition, right and lawful Earl of Northumberland, was insolent and injurious to the House. "Besides," it was added, "there are several scandalous reflections therein on the Duke and Duchess

of Somerset, which their lordships leave to the censure of the House." On this the House appointed Tuesday the 11th of June, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, for the hearing of counsel both on the part of the Duke of Somerset and on that of Percy. The hearing took place accordingly; and then the House resolved, that the pretensions of James Percy were "groundless, false, and scandalous;" that his Petition was dismissed; and that he should be brought before the Four Courts in Westminster Hall, wearing upon his breast a paper, having written on it *The False and Impudent Pretender to the Earldom of Northumberland;* in order to which, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod was ordered to attach his person forthwith.

This sentence seems to have at last given his quietus to the poor Trunkmaker. Most probably the old man withdrew himself in time to escape the ignominious exhibition before the Four Courts; but we hear no more of him. He was now of the age of three score and ten; and so cruel a termination to the hopes and the exertions of nearly twenty years, in the course of which it is to be feared he had in the pursuit of a phantom dropped his hold of whatever substantial fortune or means of existence he had possessed, would not tend to diminish the natural pressure of that ordinary limit of our earthly life or strength. He probably, therefore, did not long survive the airy vision to which he had so completely given himself up.

The claim of the Trunkmaker was never renewed by any other member of his family. It could not have been

brought forward again, indeed, in the shape in which it had already been pronounced upon and rejected; and there seems to be every reason for believing that he was as much mistaken in assuming Sir Ingelram Percy for his great-grandfather as he had previously been in fixing upon the more recent Sir Richard; but still he may have been a descendant from the house of Northumberland by some other line. His case can hardly be said to be satisfactorily disposed of so long as his true descent remains unascertained. The evidence which he brought forward seems to have satisfied Hale that he was a connexion of the Northumberland family; indeed it appears to have been clearly made out that his father and himself were recognised as relations by the two last Earls. Confusedly and inefficiently as he has told his story, and little as we can rely upon the precise accuracy of any of his statements, it is yet plain, from many things which he mentions, that his pretensions were by no means regarded, at the time, as without plausibility, and also that he was met and opposed at every step by every legal expedient, fair and unfair, of which advantage could be taken for that purpose. The array of powers and interests banded against his claim was also unusually formidable, comprehending as it did, not only all the recognised chief branches of the Northumberland family, the heiress of the Percies and her ducal husband, and the two dowager Countesses, her mother and her grandmother, both extensively connected among the greatest families of the realm, but such personages of the very highest sphere as the Duke of Monmouth and the new Duke of

Northumberland, the King's sons, with their royal father himself, who had given his lands to the one and his titles to the other, to say nothing of sundry less conspicuous individuals who had also got hold of property their possession of which the success of the claim might endanger, and some of whom, such as Champion and Gee, made themselves particularly busy in seeking to defeat it, and were so circumstanced as to be able to do much mischief.

The Claimant's eldest son, Anthony Percy, it seems, is mentioned by Archbishop King as having been a sufferer under the tyranny of King James.* This would be about the very time that his father was condemned by the English House of Lords to be paraded with the paper upon his breast in Westminster Hall. It is also stated that he lived to be Lord Mayor of Dublin; which would seem to imply more of civic respectability or station than the figure the Trunkmaker cuts in his own representation of himself would have led us to assign to the family. Anthony, as has been already mentioned, had one son born before 1680. And there were also, as we have seen, the Trunkmaker's two younger sons, and the sons of his uncle Robert, all of whom, or their descendants in the male line, would succeed, each in his turn, to the family rights of inheritance, such as they were.

But it would appear, that, even if the descendants of Henry Percy of Pavenham, from whom the Trunkmaker derived himself, had been set aside, or had become extinct, there were at the date of the decease

* *Collins*, II. 469.

of Earl Josceline, in 1670, other lines which might have advanced a claim to the Earldom. The Trunkmaker mentions Captain Percy of Beverley and a Sir Thomas Percy as having both been urged to come forward as claimants, the former as descended from a son of the fourth Earl, the latter as descended from a son of the second. The fourth Earl, besides his eldest son and successor, had three other sons, one of whom at least, if not two, married and had issue; the second had eight sons besides his successor, several of whom married; and it cannot be considered to be by any means certain that the male line of either, more especially that of the latter, is yet extinct.*

* The history of the claim of James Percy, the Trunkmaker,—now given for the first time with any fulness of detail—has been picked out and arranged with trouble enough from his own most disorderly accounts contained in two distinct pamphlets:—1. A folio of four leaves, with the following title—"This Book makes appear the Claim, Pedigree, and Proceedings of James Percy, now Claimant to the Earldom of Northumberland. Humbly presented to both Houses of Parliament. Printed in the year 1680."—2. A collection of Petitions, Letters, &c., also in folio, which has no title-page, and the date of the original publication of which does not appear, but to which additional leaves seem to have been attached from time to time. The writer of the account of the Percy family in the 1779 edition of Collins's *Peerage* says (II. 468) that Percy printed several editions of his Case with various alterations. It has been impracticable to make references to these pamphlets in the usual manner; the pagination, like everything else, is a heap of confusion.

THE HEIRESS OF THE PERCIES.

THE story of the claim to the Earldom of Northumberland made upon the death of Earl Josceline by the Irish Trunkmaker would be incomplete without a sketch of the remarkable fortunes of Josceline's daughter and only surviving child, the Lady Elizabeth Percy.

Her mother, originally the Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, was the youngest of the daughters and coheiresses of the Lord Treasurer, Thomas fourth and last Earl of Southampton of that name. It was an elder sister that was at first destined for the heir of the house of Percy; but she, Lady Audry, died in October 1660, soon after the marriage had been arranged. Lady Elizabeth was only sixteen when she became the wife of Josceline, then Lord Percy, in December 1662. He was between two and three years older. Lord Southampton died in May 1667; and in October of the year following Josceline succeeded his father as eleventh Earl of Northumberland.

The Countess was by this time the mother of two children,—a daughter, Elizabeth, born 26th January 1667, and a son, Henry, styled Lord Percy, born 2nd February 1668. A second daughter made her appearance towards the close of the year 1669. But now, after seven years, her happy marriage, in which, in

addition to the most brilliant worldly circumstances and every other gift of heaven, the tenderest affection is said to have bound her and her husband to one another, was to be terribly darkened. Her last-born daughter had scarcely seen the light, when, in December 1669, her boy, almost two years old, was taken from her; the death of his infant sister, Henrietta, immediately followed; the Earl and the Countess then went abroad, and the Earl died at Turin in May 1670, before he had completed his twenty-sixth year.

Thus she had lost a son, a daughter, and a husband within a space of five months.

She was not yet four-and-twenty, and she had been eminently handsome; — "a beautiful lady, indeed," writes Pepys, in recording a sight which he had of her in 1667. She is one of Lely's Windsor Beauties; but it is said, that, when she appeared in Paris while her weeds were yet fresh, sorrow seemed to have already obliterated from her face every trace both of beauty and of youth.

Her bloom and grace, however, and probably also her spirits, revived after a while. Another account is, that, having re-appeared at the English court, she attracted the attention of King Charles in so inconvenient a degree as to make her deem it expedient to return to France. There the young widow, who, besides what jointure she might enjoy from the Northumberland property, was mistress of estates of the value of five thousand a-year inherited from her maternal grandfather, Leigh Earl of Chichester, was laid seige to by one who rarely or never failed with women,

—the Honourable Ralph Montagu, the English ambassador; and to his skilfully conducted suit she surrendered after the decent interval of about three years from the death of her first husband. Having come over privately to England, they were married, sometime in the year 1673, at Titchfield, in Hampshire, formerly the seat of her father, now the property of her half sister, also named Elizabeth, by whom it was carried into the family of her husband, the first of the Noels Earls of Gainsborough.

Montagu had, about a year before this, by the death of his elder brother, killed in the fight of Southwold Bay, become heir apparent to the Barony of Montagu of Boughton, and he succeeded his father in that title in 1683. His wife, however, as is customary, continued to retain the higher designation derived from her first husband. She is still spoken of as "the most beautiful Countess of Northumberland" by Evelyn, in describing, in October 1683, what he calls "the stately and ample palace" that Montagu had lately erected near Bloomsbury,—the original Montagu House, burnt down a few years after this date, when it was replaced by the building long so well known as the British Museum. It was not till her second husband was, immediately after the Revolution, made Viscount Monthermer and Earl of Montagu, that she assumed his name. Nor did she enjoy her new title much more than a year. She had already, besides a daughter, brought Montagu two sons, both of whom had been of delicate health from the first. The eldest they lost in his twelfth year in February 1687—a few days after the burning of

their house. In September 1690, the Countess died, at Boughton, in Northamptonshire, soon after she had given birth to a third son. She had only attained the age of forty-four. Montagu, within about a twelve-month, being then fifty-six, married the mad widow of the second and last Duke of Albemarle; it is said that he paid his addresses to her in the character of the Emperor of China; in 1705 he was raised by Queen Anne to be Marquis of Monthermer and Duke of Montagu; and he lived till 1709, when, having some time before lost his second son, he was succeeded in all his honours by his third and last, by whom they were sustained for forty years longer.* His widow survived to nearly as late a date: Pennant states, that all the time her husband lived she was kept confined in the ground-floor of Montagu House, "and was served on the knee to the day of her death, which happened in 1734, at Newcastle House, Clerkenwell, at the age of ninety-six." She was one of the five daughters of the second Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, the grandson of Bess of Hardwick.†

* John second Duke of Montagu married the youngest of the three daughters of the great Duke of Marlborough, and had by her a family of three sons and three daughters. The sons all died in childhood or infancy; the eldest daughter became the wife of the second Duke of Manchester, but had no issue; the youngest married the fourth Earl of Cardigan, who was in 1766 created Duke of Montagu, and lived till 1790. In 1786, also, having many years before lost his only son, he was created Baron Montagu of Boughton, with remainder, failing his issue male, to the second son of his daughter, who had married the third Duke of Buccleuch; and his daughter's said son, accordingly, being the uncle of the present Duke of Buccleuch, succeeded on the death of his grandfather to that Barony.

† See *ante*, vol. iii., p. 277.

The second marriage of the Countess of Northumberland separated her immediately from her daughter by her first husband, and their paths of life would seem to have afterwards but seldom crossed or touched. The child had, of course, been left with her mother so long as the latter remained her own mistress; but it was not held to follow that, because the Countess had chosen to take to herself a new husband, she was entitled to impose any new father she pleased upon her daughter; and proceedings were instituted, the result of which was that the guardianship of the heiress of the Percies was transferred to her grandmother, the widow of Earl Algernon. She was thereupon carried off by the old lady to Petworth; and her mother, who, as we have seen, survived for about seventeen years, scarcely again makes her appearance in the story.

The gentle Junior Countess had no chance with her mother-in-law in any case in which they might come into competition or collision. It is illustrative of their opposite natures, and in accordance with the lot of each in other respects, that, while the former died at forty-four, the latter should have lived on to the age of ninety-seven. She did not quit her pertinacious and inordinate grasp of this world till the year 1705.

Such a woman would be as little likely to respect the natural rights or feelings of the daughter as those of the mother. The Lady Elizabeth Percy was the greatest match in the kingdom; and her grandmother, we may be sure, having got her into her hands, did not intend that, when she came to be disposed of in mar-

riage, the young lady herself should have much to say in the matter.

To make the surer of no opposition to her sovereign will and pleasure being attempted,—no struggle of the victim disturbing the sacrifice,—perhaps, too, out of impatience to signalise her absolute authority in that crowning act,—she had her ward transformed into a wife without even waiting till she had become a woman. Lady Elizabeth could not yet boast of being quite thirteen when she found herself legally and irrevocably made over, with all she possessed, to Henry Earl of Ogle, the heir apparent to the Dukedom of Newcastle. The ceremony is stated to haye been performed about the latter end of the year 1679.* Lord Ogle was the brother of the Duchess Dowager of Albemarle, who, about a dozen years after this, succeeded Lady Elizabeth's mother as the wife of Montagu.

This, however, after all, proved only a nominal marriage. The bridegroom assumed the name of Percy, and the bride was called Lady Ogle; but they had not yet come to live together when Lord Ogle died in the beginning of November 1680. He was his father's last remaining son, and his death made an end of the elder of the two dukedoms acquired by the House of Cavendish, or at least devolved it upon a new name.†

It appears to have also been held to restore the juvenile widow to the custody and command of her grandmother, who lost no time in availing herself of the rare opportunity that had fallen to her of negotiating a second marriage for the same ward—and she

* *Collins*, II., 469. † See *ante*, vol. iii., p. 277.

the wealthiest in the land—whom she had already once turned to account in the same way.

Under date of the 15th of October 1581 Evelyn records as follows:—"I dined with the Earl of Essex, who, after dinner, in his study, where we were alone, related to me how much he had been scandalised and injured in the report of his being privy to the marriage of his lady's niece, the rich young widow of the late Lord Ogle, sole daughter of the Earl of Northumberland; showing me a letter of Mr. Thynn's, excusing himself for not communicating his marriage to his lordship. He acquainted me also with the whole story of that unfortunate lady's being betrayed by her grandmother, the Countess of Northumberland, and Colonel Brett for money; and that, though, upon the importunity of the Duke of Monmouth, he had delivered to the grandmother a particular of the jointure which Mr. Thynn pretended he would settle on the lady, yet he totally discouraged the proceeding, as by no means a competent match for one that, both by birth and fortune, might have pretended to the greatest prince in Christendom; that he also proposed the Earl of Kingston, or the Lord Cranburn, but was by no means for Mr. Thynn." Elizabeth wife of the first Capel Earl of Essex was a daughter of Algernon Earl of Northumberland by his first marriage, and was consequently the half sister of the late Earl Josceline, and aunt, by the half blood, of his daughter.

Mr. Thynn, to whom Lady Ogle, we see, was by this time remarried, was Thomas Thynn, Esq., of Longleat, in Wiltshire, one of the richest commoners in England.

He went by the name of Tom of Ten Thousand,—that is, ten thousand a year; and it is he whom Dryden in his description of the Duke of Monmouth, in the *Absalom and Achitophel,* introduces as "Wise Issachar, his wealthy western friend." His Grace, it would appear from Evelyn's account, had interested himself in bringing about the marriage; which was solemnised in the summer or autumn of 1681, certainly before Lord Ogle had been dead a twelvemonth.

The bride, however, who was not yet fifteen, was again to be a wife only in form and name. Although she had yielded so far to the influences, of whatever kind, brought to bear upon her as to go the altar with Thynn, she seems to have shrunk from the thought of living with him. It is said that she got her mother to intercede for her, and that her husband consented to give her up for a year, which she should spend abroad. Another account is that she actually fled to Holland. It is admitted that they separated, and that she did leave England immediately after the performance of the ceremony. She was probably carried to the Continent by her mother and Montagu. In a few weeks, also, we hear of proceedings being about to be taken with the object, apparently, of effecting a dissolution of her late marriage. Evelyn mentions a conversation he had with Dolben Bishop of Rochester on the 14th of January 1682, in which the Bishop spoke of the probability of his having to officiate as "a delegate in the concern of my Lady Ogle, now likely to come in controversy upon her marriage with Mr. Thynn."

Perhaps her Ladyship had already seen some one

whom she preferred in her heart to either of the two men to whom she had given her hand. Among the suitors from whom Tom of Ten Thousand seemed for the moment to have borne her off in triumph, there was one, who, on whatever his calculations rested, is supposed to have ere long conceived the hope of yet calling her his own.

Charles John Count Königsmark was a person to dazzle any eyes, and to aspire to any prize that daring might win. His family, originally German, had been for some generations settled in Sweden, in the military service of which country, and also in that of France, of Venice against the Turks, of the Dutch republic, and of the Empire, a succession of Königsmarks had made the name renowned over Europe. Charles John had been head of his house since 1673, in which year his father fell in battle. Born in 1659, he was only eight years older than the heiress of the house of Percy. Yet he had already acquired a distinguished reputation. He had first visited England in 1674, when he was only fifteen; thence he had gone to Paris, where he mingled in the highest circles, and, young as he was, is said to have shone with great lustre; in his eighteenth year he was wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life, in boarding a Turkish vessel while cruising with the Knights of Malta, having in this his first fight evinced all the fearless valour of his heroic race; after that he visited Rome, Venice, and Genoa; then he passed on to Portugal, and at last presented himself at Madrid in time to witness and take part in the fêtes and rejoicings at

the marriage of King Charles the Second with Maria Louisa of Orleans. There, in May 1679, the Countess d'Aulnoi, being of the suite of the French princess, witnessed his behaviour at a grand toros, or bull-fight, at which their majesties were present. She had been greatly excited by the report that the young Swedish nobleman was to engage the bull in honour of a young lady of her acquaintance. He was one of six knights who offered themselves to the combat. Each was mounted, and was attended by a groom, who led a dozen other horses, and as many mules laden with lances. The cavaliers were all dressed in black, with plumes of white feathers, hat-bands glittering with diamonds, and crimson, blue, or yellow scarfs, which some of them wore round their waist or over the shoulders, others wrapt round about the arm. "Without doubt," says the Countess, in her printed account of her Travels, "their mistresses presented them; for commonly they run to please them, and to show that there is no danger to which they would not expose themselves for their diversion." There were twenty bulls baited the first day. One, which was particularly furious, rushed at Königsmark, and wounded him dangerously in the leg, besides rending his horse, upon which the main force of the blow lighted. "He quickly got off him," the narrative continues, "and, though he is no Spaniard, yet he would not be excused from any of the laws. It would have drawn pity from any body to see one of the finest horses in the world in such a condition; he ran violently about the place, striking fire with his feet, and killed a man with a blow upon his

head and breast. The great rail was opened for him, and he went out. As for the Count, as soon as he was wounded, a very fine Spanish lady, who believed that he fought for her sake, stood forward in her balcony, and with her handkerchief made several signs, in all likelihood to encourage him; but he did not seem to need being animated; and, although he had lost abundance of blood, and was forced to lean upon one of his footmen, who held him up, yet, with great fierceness, he advanced with his sword in his hand, made a shift to give a very great wound to the bull on the head, and then presently, turning himself towards that side where this young lady for whom he fought was, he kissed his sword, and suffered himself to be carried away by his people half dead."*

The new Spanish Queen was the niece of the King of England; and that fact may have had something to do with turning Königsmark's thoughts again to this country. First, however, he went home to Sweden for a time: it was not till the beginning of the year 1681 that he came over here. He landed at Hull, after a stormy and dangerous passage from Gothenburg, and immediately set forward for the Court at Windsor, where a special introduction which he brought from the Swedish King to our Charles the Second ensured him a distinguished reception. He appears to have taken up his residence in London, where it is certain that he lived in great style, and in habitual intercourse with the Court.

It must have been now that he met the young heiress

* *Travels* (*English Translation*), II., 74.

of the Percies, and became one of the suitors for her hand, recently released from the brief grasp of her first nominal husband, Lord Ogle.

It is not at all likely that the foreign adventurer, whatever encouragement he may have received from the lady herself, would receive much either from her grandmother or from any of her other connexions. His advances may have rather precipitated the consignment of her to Thynn. It was perhaps upon that arrangement being concluded that Königsmark left England.

One version of the story makes them to have first met at the court of Hanover. Probably, if they ever met there, it was after they had known one another in England, and after Lady Ogle had become the wife of Thynn.

There is, in fact, every reason for believing that they were on the Continent at the same time in the year 1681. Lady Ogle, as we have seen, left England immediately after her marriage with Thynn, which was solemnised in the autumn, or perhaps in the summer, of that year. And Königsmark, we are told, after having intended, or professed it to be his intention, to accompany a small naval armament which was about to be dispatched for the relief of Tangier, on the expedition being prevented from sailing by contrary winds proceeded in the first instance to France. Some time appears to have then elapsed before he set out for Africa by the way of Spain. However, he arrived at Tangier in time to take a conspicuous part in the first sally made by the beleaguered garrison. In a second sally, which he headed a few days after, he had his horse shot under him. In

the end the Emperor of Morocco sued for peace; his ambassador arrived in London in the beginning of the following year. Königsmark meanwhile had joined a few English ships which had gone a cruising against the Algerines. He returned to England, nevertheless, about the middle of January 1682.

At a late hour on the evening of Sunday the 12th of February, Thynn, passing in his coach westward along Pall Mall, when he had got opposite to St. Alban's Street, now the Opera Arcade, was overtaken by three men, mounted and armed, one of whom, riding up to the north window of the coach, and wheeling round his horse, discharged a blunderbuss loaded with four bullets into his right side, inflicting a wound of which he expired at six o'clock in the morning.

Three foreigners, George Borosky, or Boratzi, a Pole, and Christopher Vratz and John Stern, both Swedes, the former designated Captain, the latter Lieutenant, were immediately apprehended on suspicion of being the perpetrators of the crime. A reward of £200 was offered for the discovery of Count Königsmark, who had remained *incognito* since his return from abroad, and who was described in the advertisement as about the age of five or six and twenty (he was, in fact, only twenty-two), of a low stature, "pretty full set," having fair long hair, but sometimes wearing a periwig, his face round, with "a few pockholes in it." He was captured, while endeavouring to make his escape from the country in disguise, on the night of Sunday the 19th, a week after the murder, at Gravesend. All four were tried at Hicks's Hall on Tuesday the 28th,

Königsmark being indicted as an accessory before the fact. The three others were found Guilty, and were all executed; the Count was acquitted by the Jury, but no doubt was entertained by any one that he was really the chief criminal.

He left England with all possible expedition. It appears that he already held the command of a regiment in the army of the King of France, and he now betook himself to that country. The short remainder of his life was mostly spent in the exercise of his profession of arms, and he distinguished himself on many occasions. At last, in 1685, on his uncle, Count Otho William Königsmark—his father's younger brother—being appointed second in command of the Venetian force sent to the Morea under Francesco Morosini, he accompanied him as a volunteer; and, after having assisted in the reduction of Navarino and Modon, he either fell mortally wounded in repelling a sally of the Turkish garrison of Argos on the 29th of August 1686—the day before the surrender of the place—or, as another account states, was carried off by a pleurisy, the consequence of having overheated himself in that affair. He had only attained the age of twenty-seven.

It was Philip Christopher, the younger brother of Charles John Count Königsmark, and his successor in the title, who was in August 1694 assassinated in the palace at Hanover, on suspicion of being the lover of Sophia of Zell, the young and beautiful wife of the Electoral Prince, afterwards George the First of England, and the mother of his son George the Second, and whose remains were long after found under the

floor of the passage where he had been dispatched, as he was retiring from the bed-chamber of the Princess, whose divorce immediately followed. Yet it is believed that both she and the Count fell victims to the jealousy and revenge of the Elector's mistress, the Countess Platen, whose overtures Königsmark had rejected, and who sent him, without the knowledge of the Princess, the invitation that lured him to his fate. Of two sisters, also, the eldest was the beautiful Countess Maria Aurora of Königsmark, the mistress of Frederick Augustus Elector of Saxony, who in 1697 became King Augustus the Second of Poland, and the mother by him of the famous Maurice Count of Saxony, commonly styled Marshal Saxe.

Thomas Thynn, the Count's victim, leaving no legitimate issue, was succeeded in his extensive possessions by Sir Thomas Thynn, Baronet, who was the son of a half brother of his father's, and who was the same year raised to the peerage as Baron Thynn and Viscount Weymouth. The first Viscount Weymouth, however, left no male issue, and, with the family estate of Longleat,* the titles descended in terms of the patent to the line of a younger brother; the third Viscount

* Clarendon, in his *Life*, tells us that his grandfather, who was a younger son, "when his age was fit for it, was placed as a clerk in one of the Auditor's Offices of the Exchequer, where he gained great experience, and was employed in the affairs and business of Sir John Thynn, who, under the protection and service of the Duke of Somerset, had, in a short time raised a very great estate, and was the first of that name who was known, and left the house of Longleat to his heir, with other lands to a great value." Tom of Ten Thousand was the great-great-grandson of this *protégé* of the Protector.

Weymouth was in 1789 created Marquis of Bath, and his great-grandson is the present and fourth Marquis. A younger son of the second Viscount was also in 1784 created Baron Carteret, and, dying unmarried at the age of ninety-one in 1826, was succeeded, in terms of the patent, by the second son of his brother the first Marquis of Bath, who, again dying without issue in 1838, was succeeded by his next brother, who is the present peer.

But probably, neither upon the murdered man himself, whom nothing but his fate made interesting, and about whom, now that he was "gone down among the dead," there was, as the epitaph sings, little "more to be said," or, perhaps, the less that was said the better, nor upon his foreign murderer, were men's thoughts turned by his assassination with so much interest or curiosity as upon the young and high-born English maiden, whose hand had indeed been given to Thynn, but whose heart was very generally believed to be Königsmark's. She was still abroad when she was thus made a widow for the second time at the age of fifteen. We read as follows in the newspaper called *The Domestic Intelligencer* for the 15th of February 1682:—"Orders are taken for embalming the body of Thomas Thynn, Esq., lately murdered, and which, it is said, will, for some reasons, be kept unburied a considerable time. Most of his servants are going into mourning, and we learn that letters have been dispatched to Lady Ogle to advertise her of the tragical disaster." With whatever feelings she may have received the news, she deemed it

proper, or it was so arranged by those in whose hands or at whose command she was, that she should immediately return home. The *Intelligencer* of the 20th intimates that she was then understood to be on the point of starting for this country from Amsterdam, where she had been resident for some months. "We hear," says the publication of the 23rd, "that the Lady Ogle is upon her way for England, and is expected about the beginning of the next week." It is probable, however, that she did not arrive quite so soon, nor till after the murderers of her late husband had been both tried and executed. The next notice that we have of her in the *Intelligencer* is in the paper of the 23rd of March, which contains the following paragraph:— "Since the Lady Ogle's arrival, many persons of quality have been to visit her; she seeming very much dejected for the unfortunate and tragical death of Esquire Thynn, declaring that she was altogether surprised upon the news she received of that unhappy accident, as not imagining such barbarity could be enacted by man, much more in England; and we hear that she will not appear public till the Court comes hither from Newmarket." The simplicity of the poor perplexed news-collector in putting into her ladyship's mouth a formal declaration that she had had no share in concocting her husband's murder is rich. At this moment their majesties were expected to leave Newmarket in a few days; but they were detained by the state of the weather, and a full fortnight elapsed before they got back to Whitehall.

Whether Thynn's young widow abstained so long

from beginning to "appear public," is not chronicled. But in any case she, or her relations, made good use of the next two months. On the 30th of May,—only four months after having completed her fifteenth year, not quite that brief space from Thynn's death,—she was married to a third husband, Charles Seymour Duke of Somerset. He was the seventh Duke, if we reckon from the Protector; and it is remarkable that, as he now obtained a wife and an immense accession of fortune by one assassination, so he had about four years before been indebted for his title to another; for he had succeeded an elder brother, who, while travelling in Italy, and being only in his twenty-first year and still unmarried, was shot dead at Lerici, near Genoa, by a man of rank, Horatio Botti, whose wife and other ladies of his family had been insulted in the church of the Augustinians by some French gentlemen, and who erroneously supposed the English nobleman to have been one of the party. Duke Charles was only twenty, or about five years older than his bride, when his marriage united the two noble lines of Seymour and Percy. The higher, however, was made to yield to the older nobility; by the marriage articles the Duke was bound to assume the name and bear the arms of Percy; although his wife released him from that obligation when she came of age.

The remainder of the story will be told, for the greater part, nearly in the words which I have employed in a former work.

The seventh Duke of Somerset became, from his rank

and property, a personage of very considerable court and even political importance in his day. He began his public life a short time before the Revolution by an act which gained him great credit and popularity,—his refusal to obey the command of James the Second to introduce the Papal Nuncio at Court, where his Grace held the office of one of the Lords of the Bedchamber. When his Majesty, on his stating that he conceived what he was required to do to be illegal, asked him if he did not know that the King was above the law, the Duke replied, that, however that might be, he knew that he himself was not above the law. It was a singularly happy answer, certainly, and very remarkable as coming from a youth of only six-and-twenty. His after career, however, scarcely kept the promise of this commencement. In the reign of Anne, the era in which he made the greatest figure, he rather opposed the Tories than united himself with the Whigs, and earned the cordial hatred of the one party without gaining the confidence of the other. His most distinguished political feat was his suddenly making his appearance unsummoned, along with the Duke of Argyll, in the Council-Chamber at Kensington Palace, while the Queen was lying in a neighbouring room on her death-bed,—an act of decision which, by producing the immediate appointment of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the vacant office of Lord Treasurer, probably prevented the proclamation of the Pretender, and saved the country from at least the temporary confusion which might have followed; for there is little doubt that Bolingbroke and his associates were fully prepared for such an attempt

if the office, which was in fact that of the premiership, had been secured by that daring politician.

The singularities and absurdities of the Duke's private character went far to diminish the respect and influence he might otherwise have obtained. "The Duke of Somerset," writes the Tory Lord Dartmouth, in commenting on Burnet's account of his conduct on another occasion—the part he took in breaking up the Godolphin administration in 1710, and then refusing to join their Tory successors—"always acted more by humour than by reason. He had been extremely solicitous and impatient to get the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin out, and then insisted to have a packed Parliament of theirs to meet, to call himself and every body else in question for having done it. He was a man of vast pride, and, having had a very low education, showed it in a very indecent manner. His high title came to him by one man's misfortune, and his great estate by another's; for he was born to neither, but elated with both to a ridiculousness. After having absented himself for some time, he offered himself at the cabinet; but all the rest declared to the Queen that they would not sit there if he did; upon which the Council was dismissed for that time, and he never attempted it more." What is meant by the Duke offering himself at the cabinet is not very clear: perhaps he pretended to have a right to take his seat in the cabinet in virtue of being a Privy Councillor, which indeed appears to have been the notion upon which he acted when he made his unbidden appearance in the Council-chamber some four years after this. To

the same effect with Dartmouth's note is one upon the same passage in Burnet by Lord Hardwicke:—"This noble Lord was so humoursome, proud, and capricious, that he was rather a ministry-spoiler than a ministry-maker."

The fantastic exhibitions which he used to make of his sense of the importance of his title and station procured him the distinctive designation of the Proud Duke of Somerset; and many stories are told of the height to which he carried his self-deification. It is affirmed that, not only would he never suffer any of his children to sit in his presence, but, when he went to sleep in his arm-chair of an afternoon, he used to have a daughter stationed to keep watch and ward all the while at each elbow. On one occasion, suddenly awakening from his nap, which perhaps he had protracted beyond the usual allowance, to his astonishment and indignation he caught one of his fair sentinels seated, on which he told her she should have cause to remember her unfilial and unfeeling disobedience; and it is said that he left her in his will twenty thousand pounds less than her sister. To his servants, it is alleged, he deigned to speak only by signs.

The Duchess of Somerset was held in much higher general estimation than her vain, crotchety, half-crazy husband. When the Whigs were turned out, partly by the Duke's exertions and influence, in 1710, although the new ministry would have nothing to do with his Grace, they gave his wife two of the Court offices,—those of Groom of the Stole and Mistress of the Robes,—which had been taken from the Duchess of Marl-

borough; and, upon Burnet's notice of these appointments, Lord Dartmouth takes occasion to give the following account of her:—"The Duchess of Somerset was the best-bred as well as the best-born lady in England. Her immense wealth in her younger days had occasioned great misfortunes to herself and other people, which concluded in her being married to the Duke of Somerset, who treated her with little gratitude or affection, though he owed all he had except an empty title to her. She maintained her dignity at Court with great respect to the Queen and sincerity to all others. She was by much the greatest favourite when the Queen died; and it would have continued, for she thought herself justified in her favour to her when she was ashamed of it elsewhere. Not long before the Queen died, she told me she designed to leave some of her jewels to the Queen of Sicily (who was the only relation I ever heard her speak of with much tenderness), and the rest to the Duchess of Somerset, as the fittest person to wear them after her. Mrs. Danvers, who had served her mother the Duchess of York, and been about her from her infancy, told me she never wondered at her favour to the Duchess of Somerset, but always had to the Duchess of Marlborough, who was the most reverse to the Queen that could have been found in the whole kingdom." Mr. Speaker Onslow also observes, that the appointment of the Duchess "was the most prudent and best accepted thing that then was done by the ministers; for she was in all respects a credit and an ornament to the Court."

But the Tories, who had now got possession of the

government, soon began to regard the Duchess of Somerset as the main obstacle to their complete ascendancy over the Queen. In Swift's *Journal to Stella*, written in 1711 and 1712, his dread and horror of her Grace, and his anxiety for her removal, break out in many passages. "Your Duchess of Somerset," he says in one place, "who now has the key, is a most insinuating woman." This is in March 1711, when his suspicion and jealousy were only beginning to ferment. Afterwards we find him fuming and storming about "your d——d Duchess of Somerset." In December he notes, "We must certainly fall if the Duchess of Somerset be not turned out; and nobody believes the Queen will ever part with her." And it was about this date that, in the impatience of his rage and fear, he perpetrated his famous *Windsor Prophecy*—an atrocity never by the Duchess to be forgotten or forgiven. The Prophecy, written in antique English, is pretended to have been found in a grave at Windsor, and, after a few introductory lines, runs on thus:—

> "And, dear England, if aught I understond,
> Beware of *carrots* from *Northumberlond.*
> Carrots sown *Thynn* a deep root may get
> If so they be in *Somer* set:
> Their *Conyngs mark* thou; for I have been told
> They assassin when young, and poison when old.
> Root out these carrots, O thou whose name
> Is backwards and forwards always the same;
> And keep close to thee always that name
> Which backwards and forwards is almost the same:
> And, England, would'st thou be happy still,
> Bury the carrots under a *Hill.*"

The two names are those of the Queen (Anna), and Mrs. Masham (originally Miss Hill), the great stay

and dependance of the Tory party, or at least of the Swift and Bolingbroke section of it. By the "Carrots from Northumberland" is most ungallantly intended to be symbolised the fair Percy, who, with all her gifts of nature and fortune, was, it seems, unhappy enough to have red hair. The insinuation in the verses that she had been a party to the murder of her former husband would scarcely, perhaps, be more keenly felt than their audacious allusion to this personal peculiarity. But Swift had almost better have sported with the hydra tresses of Medusa than with her Grace's carrotty locks. The publication of the *Prophecy* was prevented by Mrs. Masham, who knew the Duchess's influence with the Queen too well not to be alarmed at the madness of giving her such offence;—Swift himself, indeed, was aware, as he tells us, "that she had more personal credit than all the Queen's servants put together;"—but some copies of the verses were printed for the members of the Club of Brothers, and one of these could not be long in finding its way to her Grace. It is believed to have been through her unappeasable resentment that the access to the episcopal bench—the grand ambition of his life—was shut to Swift for ever. The see of Hereford became vacant about a year after this, and all the interest of the chief persons in power was exerted to get their most zealous and efficient supporter, and intimate personal friend, made the new bishop. Their efforts would probably have been successful; but the Duchess of Somerset went to Anne, and, as the scene is described by the elder Sheridan, did not leave her till she had

wrung from her a promise, by prayers and tears, that the appointment should not be made.

Lord Dartmouth, we have seen, speaks of the little sense of gratitude shown by the Proud Duke in his treatment of his wife, for all he owed to her. Their domestic infelicity was well known. It is pointedly alluded to in a pamphlet which appeared in January 1712, entitled *Advice offered to the Members of the October Club*, which at the time was attributed to the Lord Keeper Harcourt, but was in reality written by Swift. "It would have been a masterpiece of prudence in this case," says the author of this address to his associated brother Tories, in alluding to some proceeding which had been taken against the Duke a short time before, but which is only obscurely indicated, "to have made a friend of an enemy; but whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to inquire. All accommodation was rendered desperate by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at Windsor, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that situation of affairs, and, I am told, was not approved by a certain great minister [the Lord-Treasurer Harley]. It was obvious to suppose that, in a particular where the honour and interest of a husband were so closely united with those of a wife, he might be sure of her utmost endeavours for his protection, though she never loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, *and a shelter from domestic tyranny*, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain, early practised in all the arts of

intriguing." These last expressions are almost the same used by Swift in a letter he wrote to Archbishop King in the preceding August; he there describes the Duchess as "insinuating, and a woman of intrigue." In his *Journal to Stella,* having on the preceding day mentioned his having sent the *Letter to the October Club* to the press, he notices, under date of the 19th of January 1712, that the Duke of Somerset had been dismissed from his post of Master of the Horse; and he adds, "we hope the Duchess will follow, or that he will take her away in spite." The next day he writes; —"I saw the Duchess of Somerset talking with the Duke of Buckingham; she looked a little down, but was extremely courteous . . . . They say the Duke of Somerset is advised by his friends to let his wife stay with the Queen; I am sorry for it." Boyer, in his *History of the Reign* of Anne, affirms that the Duchess offered to resign her place, but that "the Queen would by no means part with so trusty and affectionate a servant." In fact, she remained in office to the end of the reign.

She did not survive her royal mistress very many years. The life, of which the commencement had been variegated by such a succession of remarkable incidents, and no portion of which had been without much secret trouble and sorrow to darken to her own heart its outside splendour, terminated on the 23rd of November 1722. The Duchess of Somerset, when she died, therefore, was not quite fifty-six. Her friend Queen Anne, who had gone eight years before her, had only lived to be forty-nine.

Like her Majesty, too, the Duchess had been a very productive mother, and with almost as little enduring result. Of seven sons and six daughters that she brought the Duke, only one son and three daughters arrived at maturity; and, although the three daughters were all married, only one of them, Katharine, who became the wife of the great Tory parliamentary leader, Sir William Wyndham, Baronet, left issue.

The son, Algernon, styled Earl of Hertford, born in 1684, was on the death of his mother not only summoned to the House of Lords as Baron Percy, but was placed in the precedency of the ancient Barony created in the 28th year of Edward the First,* as if that dignity had descended to him as the heir of his mother. It is now generally admitted, however, that neither that nor any of the other peerages enjoyed by her ancestors had been inherited by the Duchess.† The Earl of Hertford, who distinguished himself as a cavalry officer under Marlborough, singularly enough married a granddaughter of the first Viscount Weymouth, the cousin and heir of his mother's murdered husband, Thynn of Longleat; she is the Countess of Hertford to whom Thomson dedicates his *Spring*, and the Duchess of Somerset whose Correspondence with the Countess of Pomfret was published in the early part of the present century.

Her husband only enjoyed the title of Duke of Somerset for about fourteen months; and four years before he succeeded to it they had lost their only son,

* See *ante*, Vol. II., p. 64.

† See this clearly made out in Sir Harris Nicolas's *Synopsis*, pp. 510—512.

George Viscount Beauchamp, a youth of great promise: he was seized with small-pox at Boulogne, on his return from a tour through France, Switzerland, and Italy, and, after an illness of only four days, died on the day on which he had completed his nineteenth year. From the shock of this bereavement neither father nor mother ever recovered.

By this event, the male line of the descendants of the Protector Somerset by his second marriage having failed, the Dukedom of Somerset and the Barony of Seymour, granted to his uncle by King Edward the Sixth in 1547, reverted after the lapse of more than two centuries, in terms of the patents, to the elder branch of the family, the descendants of the Protector by his first marriage.*

Duke Algernon, however, had still a daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Seymour, who had been married in July 1740 to Sir Hugh Smithson, Baronet; and a few months before the death of the Duke arrangements were made by which certain new honours were transmitted, along with the inheritance of the great Percy estates, to his son-in-law, and to the issue of his sister Lady Wyndham. His Grace was created, 2nd October 1749, Baron Warkworth and Earl of Northumberland, with remainder to Sir Hugh Smithson and his heirs males by Lady Elizabeth; and the next day Baron Cockermouth and Earl of Egremont with like remainder to the sons of his sister, now a widow, by her late husband.† Duke Algernon died on the 7th of February following.

* See *ante*, Vol. III., p. 291.

† See *ante*, Vol. II., p. 112.—The Earldom and Dukedom of North-

The Proud Duke of Somerset, three years after the death of his first Duchess, although then sixty-four, married the Lady Charlotte Finch, second daughter of Daniel Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, who was much his junior, and in the course of a few years brought him two more daughters.* Her chief occupation, however, seems to have been to nurse, not her children, but her ancient lord, and to officiate as his amanuensis in an incessant correspondence which he carried on with his doctor. "Among the papers of Sir Hans Sloane, preserved in the British Museum," says Mr. Lodge, in a Memoir of his Grace in the *Illustrious Personages*, "are numerous letters from the Duke and Duchess, and their attendants, to this celebrated physician, chiefly on the state of his Grace's health, marked by an anxiety so intense and so extravagant as to be at once ridiculous and deplorable. Many of them are to press the Doctor for remedies for a deafness that vexed him, the cause of which he seems at last himself shrewdly to have guessed; for in the year 1737, when he was seventy-five, the Duchess thus concludes a long letter to Sir Hans:—'My Lord desires his most humble service to you. He continues with thickness of hearing, which puts him in the spleen, fearing it proceeds from old age. He has been very seldom out

umberland which had been conferred by Charles the Second on his natural son George Fitzroy, the former in 1674, the latter in 1683 (see *ante*, p. 287), had both expired on the death of the first Duke without issue in 1716.

* The elder married John Manners Marquis of Granby, son of the third Duke of Rutland, and grandfather of the present Duke; the younger, Heneage Finch third Earl of Aylesford, grandfather of the present Earl.

of the house, and keeps his ears stopped with black wool, dipped in oil of vipers; mixed sometimes with palsy drops, sometimes with spirit of castor, and sometimes dipped only in oil of bitter almonds; but does not find advantage from either.'" Deafness notwithstanding, however, the Duke lasted for eleven or twelve years longer; he died, at the age of eighty-seven, on the 2nd of December 1748. The Duchess survived till the 31st of January 1773. She has scarcely left any remembrance of herself, except by a little story which connects her with her more distinguished predecessor:— Once, it is told, she ventured to tap the Duke familiarly on the shoulder with her fan, on which he started and cried out with great indignation, "Madam, my first wife was a Percy, and she never took such a liberty."*

* *English Causes Célèbres*, pp. 81—85.—To that publication the reader is referred for the details of the assassination of Thynn and the trial of Count Königsmark and his accomplices, and for many additional particulars respecting both Thynn and the Count.—It is necessary that I should here, with whatever reluctance, notice a volume, which was announced some time after the present work, and which appeared towards the close of the year 1848, or beginning of 1849, entitled "Celebrated Trials connected with the Aristocracy in the relations of Private Life; by Peter Burke, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law." One of the Trials in this collection is that of Königsmark and his associates. It is prefaced by a short paragraph ending thus:—"The following account of Thynn's murder will be rendered more clear by first giving a brief history of the parties who are connected with the narrative, and thus in some measure showing the motives which might have led to the perpetration of the offence. And to begin with the interesting but innocent subject of the whole matter—the main-spring of the deed—a daughter of the noble house of Percy."—The learned author would have expressed himself more correctly if he had intimated an intention of *taking* rather than *giving* his proposed "brief history." It is nothing more than a transcript from the *Causes Célèbres*, with only many omissions, and two or three such verbal substitutions as *subsequently* for

afterwards, condition for *way*, &c.; the whole being printed without the usual marks of quotation, and without any reference to the work in which it originally appeared. Mr. Burke's entire narrative, entitled "The Assassination of Mr. Thynn, in the Reign of Charles II.," extends to about ten pages, of which one is filled with a Latin epitaph intended to have been inscribed on Thynn's monument, and about one-and-a-half more with other old matter also included in the *Causes Célèbres;* of the remainder about six closely printed pages and a half consist of new matter quietly appropriated from that work.

Another of Mr. Burke's "Celebrated Trials" is that of the Reverend Robert Hawkins, of Chilton, tried for felony in 1669. The entire account of that trial also is taken without acknowledgment from the *Causes Célèbres*, with the exception only of about a dozen lines at the end.

A third of Mr. Burke's Trials is that of Philip Standsfield, tried for the murder of his father, in 1688. It extends to above twenty pages, of which Mr. Burke may be considered to have a claim to about half a page. There are nearly four pages of new matter transcribed from the *Causes Célèbres*, and reproduced by him as his own.

In a fourth Trial, that of Philip Earl of Pembroke, for murder, in 1678, which extends to thirteen pages, the entire narrative is transcribed from the *Causes Célèbres*, with the exception only of the following introductory sentences:—"This investigation presents nothing in itself but the record of a night disturbance, which led to a fatal result, as, at the period it occurred, such scenes but too often did. Its interest is derived from the importance of the accused party, an interest that has been enhanced by an excellent account of the trial given in a collection of *English Causes Célèbres*, which enables us to enliven the otherwise dry details of the transaction." The name of the editor of the work thus at last vaguely referred to, though standing on its title page, the learned transcriber still chooses to withhold; the precise extent of his obligations is no more indicated in this Trial than in any of the others; and not a word is said from which it could be supposed that, except in this one instance, he had any obligations to acknowledge.

ANNE OF BUCCLEUCH.

In later times, after the final suppression of the Douglas power, the Scott of Buccleuch was on the one side of the Border almost what the Percy of Northumberland was on the other. It is remarkable that, only a few years before the ancient heroic English line had, as we have seen, ended in a female, the chieftainship of the warlike Scottish house had also, as they express it, fallen to the distaff. And the heiress of the Scotts has a history of some interest as well as the heiress of the Percies.

The nobility of the Scotts, however, is of comparatively recent origin. As Lairds of Buccleuch and Branxholm, in Roxburghshire, they had long been of note, and had been very visibly growing in importance ever since the overthrow of the Douglases about the middle of the fifteenth century; but they were not raised to the peerage till some years subsequently to the union of the two crowns. The first Baron Scott received his patent, or charter, from James the First of England in 1606; and it is still the oldest title enjoyed by his descendants, high as they have risen in the peerages of both countries, and notwithstanding that they have also acquired by marriage a large portion of the honours of one of the branches of the more ancient house of

Douglas. Having once set foot upon the ladder of titular distinction, however, they mounted it rapidly. In fact, as we shall presently find, in little more than half a century they had ascended from its lowest to its topmost round.

In 1619 the son and successor of the first Baron Scott was made Earl of Buccleuch, in the peerage of Scotland; and, although originally the limitation was to his descendants in the male line only, he afterwards got it extended to females. This was fortunate, inasmuch as his son the second Earl, who died in 1651 at the age of five-and-twenty, left only two daughters. There had been a son and another daughter, but they had not lived.

Their mother's matrimonial history is somewhat notable. She was by birth the Lady Margaret Leslie, a daughter of the fifth Earl of Rothes, and sister of the sixth Earl, the notorious minister of Charles the Second, who was long subsequent to this date, and in the last year of his life, made Duke of Rothes. She had already had two husbands, her first having been Alexander Lord Balgony, son of the first Earl of Leven; and in January 1653—about fourteen months after the death of the Earl of Buccleuch—she married a third, David second Earl of Wemyss. As he was her third husband, too, so she was his third wife—making their common stock of experience of an amount not often equalled.*

* The Earl, when he married for the third time, had been a widower only about nine months: his second wife, who was a daughter of the second Earl of Wigton, died, leaving no issue, 20th April 1652. Lamont's account of her is worth extracting:—"She caused her husband give a free discharge to her brother, the Lord Phleymen (Fleming), of

From all her marriages, moreover, lines of nobility descended which subsist to the present day; she is the ancestress by the first of the Earls of Leven and Melville, by the second of the Dukes of Buccleuch and Queensberry, by the third of the Earls of Wemyss and March—each of the houses derived from her having thus, curiously enough, inherited two distinct peerages of the same highest grade, with two sets of subordinate titles.

When she married again, her two daughters by the Earl of Buccleuch were carried away by her to her new home, Wemyss Castle, in Fifeshire,* and there they were brought up under her own eye and that of her husband. Mary, the eldest, was, at the death of her father, which made her a Countess, only an infant in her third or fourth year; her sister, Anne, is supposed to have been born in Dundee during the siege of that town by the English forces under Monk, only a few months, or perhaps weeks, before her father was cut off.

On Wednesday the 9th of February 1659 the young Countess of Buccleuch, being then only about eleven

her whole tocher (dowry), being above 20,000 marks Scots, before any of it was paid to him, so that he is not to receive a farthing token of it. She caused her husband, also, and her brother to give Mr. Patrick Gillespie (sometime minister of Kirkaldy) a band (bond) of 4000 mark, to be paid by them to the said Mr. Pat. She caused also a door to be strucken through the wall of her chamber, for to go to the wine-cellar; for she had (as is said by many) a great desire after strong drink. The friends of the Earl of Wemyss say, that at her death he was a hunder thousand mark worse than when he married her; and all the time of her marriage was only two years."—*Chronicle of Fife*, 49.

* Now the seat of Captain Wemyss, R.N., whose grandfather, the third son of the fifth Earl of Wemyss, succeeded to the old family estates. It was in Wemyss Castle that Mary Stuart first met Darnley, on the 16th of February 1565.

years of age, was married at Wemyss Castle,—or, as it was then called, the Place of the Wester Wemyss,—to Walter Scott, eldest son of Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester. The marriage drew a great deal of observation. The ceremony, the contemporary Fife Chronicler tells us, was performed by the minister of the parish without the banns having been proclaimed, under an order which had been purchased, he affirms, from the Presbytery by the Earl of Wemyss and certain kinsmen of the bridegroom. He was only a boy of fourteen, the bride only eleven. Few or none of her friends were informed of the intended marriage till the day before, and, in fact, the parties had not been contracted till then. "Many," it is added, "expected she should have gotten some great match (for both Scots and English had ane aim for her); but this youth, that her mother the Lady Wemyss (who was the only doer of this business) made choice of for her daughter, was only one of her own vassals' sons, namely, an oye [grandson] of the Laird of Harden's; his father, Sir Gideon Scott, being Harden's second son only." * The matter was brought before the Provincial Assembly, or Synod, of Fife, which met at St. Andrews in the beginning of April, by Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet; when he and the Earl of Wemyss almost came to blows, or at least a challenge to mortal combat had very nearly passed between them; "for," writes our Chronicler, "the said Scotstarvet, speaking of the house of Harden, said, if the said lady had married *his* son or *his* oye, there had been no stain upon her; but Wemyss took this so highly, that he said to him,

* *Lamont's Diary*, 141.

that, if he had not a respect to those his grey hairs, he should make him make that good before he sleeped. But the Moderator commanded them both silence." * In the end a motion was carried approving of the conduct of the Presbytery in granting the warrant to celebrate the marriage without proclamation of banns, on the ground that there was an Act of the General Assembly allowing of such marriages in case of necessity, or when there was reason to apprehend that the lady might otherwise be carried off by violence,—as there was pretended to be here. Nineteen of the ministers present, however, dissented from this decision.

Very little more remains to be told of the Countess Mary. A subsequent entry of the same record informs us, that on the 18th of June in the year following, when all the world of aristocratic Scotland was hurrying to catch what it could of the restored royal sunshine, "the Lady Wemyss took journey for London from the Wemyss, with her daughter the Lady Buccleuch, who, after she was there, was touched by his Majesty, for she had the cruels in her arm." † The Earl had gone up about a month before, and would be in time to receive Charles. On the 20th of September he and his wife are noted to have returned to their seat in Fife together, when they brought with them, no doubt, the young Countess and her husband, as well as a patent which had been obtained on the 4th of that month creating the latter a Scottish peer by the title of Earl of Tarras, but only for life.

The royal touch, however, had apparently found the

* *Lamont's Diary*, 144. † *Id.*, 154.

scrofula (*écrouelles*) of the new Earl's poor little wife beyond its miraculous power. Lady Buccleuch died at Wemyss on the 12th of March 1661, not having yet completed her thirteenth year.

As for her husband, Tarras, who turned out a very contemptible character, after remaining a widower for about sixteen years, by married a second wife, by whom he had several sons and daughters; and his grandson succeeded to the estate of Harden, by the failure of the elder branch of the family, in 1710. In 1835 his great-grandson, Walter Scott, Esq., of Harden, recovered the Scotch title of Baron Polwarth, which had been granted in 1690 to his mother's ancestor the first Earl of Marchmont, and it is now enjoyed by his son.

On the death of the Countess Mary the Earldom of Buccleuch fell to her sister Anne. The first notice that we have of her after her accession to the title is, that her wardship and marriage were assigned to her uncle the Earl of Rothes. In disposing of her, however, his lordship appears to have acted in concert with his sister and her husband. We read in the *Chronicle of Fife*, that on the 10th of June 1662 "the Earl of Wemyss, with his lady and the Lady Buccleuch, took journey from the Wemyss with a purpose to go to London." And on the 16th of October, it is added, "the Earl of Rothes took journey from Leslie to go for London also."* The result was, that the young

* *Lamont's Diary*, 187. The date, as printed, is the 16th of October 1663; but it is evident, from what immediately follows, that 1663 is a mistake for 1662.

Countess of Buccleuch was on the 20th of April in the following year married to his Majesty's natural son, the Duke of Monmouth.

James Duke of Monmouth, reckoned the eldest of Charles the Second's numerous illegitimate offspring, was born at Rotterdam on the 9th of April 1649. His mother, who passed for the wife or widow of a Mr. Barlow, and went by that name, was Lucy, daughter of Richard Waters, Walters, or Walter, of Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire, Esquire. But, though of a respectable family, she had taken to very disreputable courses even before she met with her royal lover. Archdeacon Echard, indeed, describes her as "a person who is said to have had no other crime but her yielding to the charms of the young Prince."* But the common accounts of her are much at variance with the indulgent judgment of the Venerable Archdeacon. One of the most particular is in the Memoirs drawn up from the papers of James the Second. "Having little means, and less grace," we are there informed, "she came up to London to make her fortune." This must have been about 1647. "She was," it is added, "very handsome, and, though she had not much wit, she had a great deal of that sort of cunning which those of her profession usually have." The famous patriot Algernon Sidney himself told James that she had agreed to make herself over to him for fifty broad pieces, when he lost his bargain by being unexpectedly called out of London to join his regiment; upon this she went to Holland,

* *History*, II. 668.

and there fell into the hands of his brother, Colonel Robert, commonly called the Handsome Sidney. From him, after some time, she transferred herself to Charles, who, it is stated, "being come to the Hague, and hearing of her, found means to get her from the Colonel, she not being averse to so advantageous a change." * Clarendon's account is, that "she had transported herself to the Hague, when the King was first there, with a design to obtain that honour, which a Groom of the Bedchamber willingly preferred her to." † Charles, however, was as yet only Prince of Wales. She is said to have been his first mistress; she is at any rate the first of the long succession whose name has been recorded.

Both James, or his biographer, and Evelyn assert that her son resembled Sidney much more than the illustrious personage who passed for his father; the former, who adverts also to some further circumstantial evidence, affirms that the likeness extended not only to Sidney's general stature, or figure, and countenance, but even to a wart on his face. "All the knowing world, as well as myself," James elsewhere observes, "had many convincing reasons to think he was not the King's son, but Robert Sidney's." ‡

From Holland she accompanied Charles in the summer of 1649 to Paris, where Evelyn often saw her. He particularly notes, that on the 18th of August he went to St. Germain's to kiss his Majesty's hand, and that in the coach, which was my Lord Wilmot's, was

* *Stuart Papers*, I. 490. † *Life*, II., 206.
‡ *Stuart Papers*, II. 630 (Advice to his Son).

"Mrs. Barlow, the King's mistress, a brown, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature." She appears to have been by this time publicly recognized as occupying the place she did, and to have had a regular establishment.*

Charles, however, was wise enough not to take her with him when he came over the next year to Presbyterian Scotland; and the account given by or on the authority of his brother is, that when he got back to France, after the rout of Worcester, in October 1651, he found her conduct during his absence had been so dissolute, that he would have nothing more to say to her. It was in vain, we are assured, that "she made use of all her little arts, with the help of friends, to re-ingratiate herself;" so that at last, finding her case to be desperate, she gave herself up at Paris to a life of entire abandonment, which speedily destroyed her. Evelyn also records that "she died miserably, without any thing to bury her." †

The fact, however, is, that Charles was not disengaged from her either so easily or nearly so soon as his brother's way of telling the story would lead us to suppose. And, even after they were actually separated, he would seem

* According to Echard (*History*, II. 668) all things relating to the birth of Mrs. Barlow's son were at first "managed with the utmost privacy, and the infant was lodged at a merchant's house not far from Rotterdam, with an English nurse, and servants to attend him." The writer of a Memoir of Monmouth, published in his lifetime, says:—"An English nurse was provided for him, and both, for privacy, lodged at the house of Mr. Claes Ghysen, a merchant living at Schiedam, about a mile from Rotterdam; his mother lodging at the same time at the house of Mrs. Harvey, mother to the famous Dr. Harvey, and lived in abundance of pomp and splendour, having a gentleman and other servants to attend her." (*Historical Account of Duke of Monmouth, by S. T.*, 1683; p. 9.)

† *Diary*, 15 July 1685.

to have been inclined, if he had had his own way, to renew the connexion, notwithstanding what appears to have been sufficient assurance of the most flagrant conduct on the part of the lady.

They probably first parted when Charles left Paris for Germany in June 1654. But they continued to maintain an amicable intercourse, if they did not live together or occasionally meet, to a much later date. In September Charles settled at Cologne, and there he remained for the next two years. On the 21st of January 1655 we have him, at the Court there, granting under the sign manual, and with the countersignature of Secretary Nicholas, to "Mrs. Lucy Barlow," as she is called, an annuity or yearly pension of Five Thousand Livres, to be paid quarterly to her or her assigns in the city of Antwerp, or in such other convenient place as she shall desire, to be reckoned from the 1st of July preceding, and to continue during her life, with a promise to increase the amount when it shall please God to restore him to his kingdoms.*

Soon after this Mrs. Barlow appears to have returned to the Hague. On the 20th of May, 1655, Charles's sister, the Princess of Orange, writes to him thence as follows:—"Your wife is resolving whether she will write or no; therefore I am to say nothing to you from her, but will keep open my letter as long as the post will permit, to expect what good nature will work; which I find now does not at all, for 'tis now eleven o'clock

* See the document reprinted in full in *Ellis, Second Series*, III. 352, from the *Mercurius Politicus*, July 10 to 17, 1656. See also *Whitelocke, Memorials*, 649.

and no letter comes." And in another note, dated the 21st of June, she says:—"Your wife desires me to present her humble duty to you, which is all she can say. I tell her 'tis because she thinks of another husband, and does not follow your example of being as constant a wife as you are a husband; 'tis a frailty they say is given to the sex; therefore you will pardon her, I hope."* Such was the familiarity in which Mrs. Barlow still continued to live with the nearest relations of her royal lover.

The Princess's sportive charge of inconstancy or infidelity, however, was better deserved by her frail friend than her Royal Highness suspected. Two letters written from the Hague to Charles by a Mr. Daniel O'Neile in February 1656 convey some curious information touching Mrs. Barlow and her doings. In the first, dated on the 8th, the writer observes, that he had hitherto forborne troubling his Majesty with any report of what had been done with regard to that person, because those he had employed to go to her had brought him assurances of her willingness to obey his Majesty's commands; but of late he had been told she had no such intention, and that she even professed to be assured from Cologne that it was not his Majesty's wish that her son should be taken from her. "I am much troubled," this apparently faithful and sensible agent proceeds, "to see the prejudice her being here does your Majesty, for every idle action of her's brings your Majesty upon the

* The letters in which these passages occur are printed in the *Thurloe Papers*, I. 665; having been communicated to Dr. Birch, the editor, by Archbishop Potter, from the originals in the Library at Lambeth.

stage; and I am no less ashamed to have so much importuned your Majesty to have believed her worthy of your care. When I have the honour to wait upon your Majesty, I shall tell you what I have from a midwife of this town, and one of her maids, which she had not the discretion to use well after knowing so much of her secrets."* O'Neïle appears to have incurred some slight rebuke or expression of dissatisfaction by this plain speaking. In his next letter, dated the 14th, he says:—"Before I took the liberty to write anything to your Majesty of Mrs. Barlow, I did sufficiently inform myself of the truth of what I writ, since I had the opportunity to save her from public scandal at least." Her maid, he then states, "whom she would have killed by thrusting a bodkin into her ear as she was asleep," would have formally accused her not only of that attempt but of other enormities, and especially of "the infamous manner of her living with Mr. Howard," had he not prevented her partly by threats, but more by a hundred guilders that he had agreed to give her. Then, after mentioning other things that he understood could be testified to by her physician, he adds:—"Though I have saved her for this time, it's not likely she'll escape when I am gone; for only the consideration of your Majesty has held Mons. Heenuleit and Mons. Nertwick not to have her banished this town and country for an infamous person, and by sound of drum. Therefore it were well, if your Majesty will own that child, to send her your positive command to deliver him unto whom your Majesty may appoint. I know it from one who

* *Thurloe Papers*, I. 683.

has read my Lord Taafe's letter to her of the 11th of this last post, that he tells her your Majesty has nothing more in consideration than her sufferings, and that the next money you can get or borrow shall be sent to supply her. While your Majesty encourages any to speak this language, she'll never obey what you will have. The only way is to necessitate her [compel her by force], if your Majesty can think her worth your care."*

Very soon after this Mrs. Barlow found her way to England. She brought over with her two children, her brother Mr. Justus Walter, and her new lover, Howard. Soon after their arrival the whole set were by Cromwell's order seized and thrown into the Tower. On the 28th of June 1656 Colonel Barkstead, the Lieutenant, reports to Secretary Thurloe that "the lady," according to her own statement, had indeed had a son by Charles Stuart, but it was dead; the two children now with her were by a husband she had had in Holland, who was also dead. She had not seen Charles Stuart, she said, for two years. It was about three weeks since she had come over, only to look after a sum of £1500 left her by her mother; she had sailed from Flushing, and had met Howard there as she was about to start. The account that Howard—called Colonel, and Thomas Howard, Esq.—gave of himself was that he commanded a troop of horse in the service of the Prince of Orange, and was Master of the Horse to the Princess Royal; and that he had met "Lucy Walter, *alias* Barlow," in the ship,

* *Thurloe Papers*, I. 684.

and had since taken lodgings in the same house with her.*

At the same time had been apprehended another person, Anne Hill, described as "late servant to the Lady Lucy Walter, otherwise Barlow." She stated in the course of two examinations on oath, taken on the 26th of June and the 2nd of July, that she had first entered the service of the Lady Lucy Walter at Antwerp in August last, having brought over one of her children to her from England to the Hague, and that she remained with her about seven months. She had returned to England some weeks before her mistress, and had rejoined her here where she lodged with her two children, her brother, and Colonel Howard, at a barber's over against Somerset House. She had always understood that the lady maintained her brother. While her mistress was at the Hague Howard much frequented her company. She had often heard that one of the children was Charles Stuart's. "The said lady had no other means to maintain her but what she hath from the said Charles Stuart, although she lives in a costly and high manner." It would seem as if it had been upon the information of this Anne Hill that Mrs. Barlow and her companions had been apprehended; Hill having herself been previously arrested at the suit of her mistress. She supposed that the lady had procured her imprisonment to prevent her discovering her. "And the informant saith she heard the said lady say she had bespoke a coach, and that she would have it lined with red velvet, and have gold fringe on it, within three

* *Thurloe Papers*, V. 169.

weeks; and said, although they lived but closely in their lodgings, yet very plenteously in clothes and diet, and had a coach to attend them continually from week to week." She complained that she had herself been mewed up so closely as to have scarce had liberty to come down for a cup of beer. Her mistress had charged her to give her out for a Dutch captain's wife, whose husband was dead.*

The account published by authority at the time in the *Mercurius Politicus* states, that on the 16th of July his Highness the Protector had, by warrant directed to Sir John Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower, ordered Mrs. Barlow's release, and that arrangements had been made for sending off her and her son,—"the lady of pleasure and the young heir," as they are irreverently styled—forthwith, and setting them on shore in Flanders.† She probably soon found her way back to Paris, and it appears to have been now that she there took to the courses which brought her to her end. In the *Life of James* it is said that in her last days she repaired to Dr. Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, who then resided in exile at Paris, "pretending to be his penitent, and to be converted by him from her loose way of living."‡ Perhaps it was no pretence; Lucy Walters, with all she has to answer for, may still have had some good in her, though she has had few kind or even merciful words spoken of her since she was laid at rest.

The Cromwell newspaper affirms that the boy Mrs.

* *Thurloe Papers*, V. 160, and 178.

† *Ellis, Second Series*, III. 352. ‡ *Stuart Papers*, I. 490.

Barlow had with her in the Tower, and whom she openly declared to be Charles Stuart's, was very like him.* It also describes her as passing "under the character of Charles Stuart's *wife* or mistress;" and it has been asserted that, while she remained at large in London, some of the cavalier party actually received and treated her as a royal personage. It may very possibly have been so; she was no doubt a person of much artifice and plausibility, and many of the cavaliers were great fools; but, whatever she herself at this time, or the partizans of her son long afterwards, may have asserted, no evidence that she and Charles were married ever was produced, and the supposition is opposed to all the probabilities of the case. The two notes addressed to Charles by his sister in the summer of 1655 only show that she went familiarly among his relations by the jocular or cant name of his wife. It is not to be imagined, and never was asserted, that the marriage, if it had taken place, was a matter which could have been openly or lightly referred to in any circumstances. It must have been a transaction to the knowledge of which very few persons indeed had been admitted, and which was not to be unnecessarily ap-

* Perhaps the other child that she had with her was the daughter also acknowledged, though not so publicly or formally, by Charles. She was named Mary, and was twice married; first to William Sarsfield, Esq., of Lucan, in Ireland, elder brother of Patrick, styled Earl of Lucan, by whom she had an only daughter, who became the wife of a Mr. Vesey, an Irish gentleman; secondly, to William Fanshaw, Esq., Master of Requests to Charles the Second, by whom she had a son and three daughters. She died in April 1693. Her son, Thomas Edward Fanshaw, is described in 1707 as then a volunteer on board her Majesty's fleet. Her youngest daughter married Mr. Mark Newdigate, of Ireland.—*Sandford's Genealogical History*, 645.

proached, even in the most veiled allusion, by anybody; most certainly it was not a fact about which there was no concealment or reserve, as the wifehood spoken of by the Princess evidently was. Above all, the notion that Charles's actual marriage with his mistress could have been acquiesced in and approved of by his sister is preposterous, however indulgently the gross habits of the time may have led her to look upon a connexion of a different character. Such a marriage, besides the stain and degradation to herself and all her family, could not but be felt by her, as by every one else, to be the certain ruin of the royal cause in England.

The child with which she had presented him had probably been all along a strong link between Charles and the woman who thus retained the chief sway over his inconstant inclinations for so considerable a space of time; and even when he at last made up his mind to shake off the mother he was anxious to keep possession of the boy. She, however, appears to have refused to part with him; she had him with her, as we have seen, when she came to England in the beginning of the year 1656, so that the foolish cavaliers upon whom she passed herself off for their Queen would also have the gratification of making their obeisances to a so-styled Prince of Wales, very nearly seven years old. It was not till after her final return to Paris in the latter part of that year that he was at last got out of her hands by the Lord Crofts. Henceforward he passed for a relation of that nobleman, and took his name; and he was known only as Master Crofts till he was nearly

fourteen. He had been brought up a Roman Catholic till he was about nine years of age, under the tuition of Father Goff, an English Oratorian in Paris; after that he was committed to the charge of Thomas Ross, a Scotchman, and turned into a Protestant.

Meanwhile, having been made known to Charles's mother, Queen Henrietta, he had become a favourite with her Majesty; and by her he was, at the King's desire, brought over to England about two years after the Restoration. It was in July 1662, when her Majesty made her last visit to this country. On the 7th of September in that year Pepys, having dined with his friend Fox (afterwards Sir Stephen), on his way home met Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, who took him into Somerset House, and there carried him into the Queen-Mother's presence-chamber, where he saw her Majesty, with the new Queen, Catherine of Braganza, seated on her left hand; it was the first view he had had of the latter; "though she be not very charming," he says, "yet she hath a good, modest, and innocent look, which is pleasing." And then he adds;—"Here I also saw Madam Castlemaine, and, which pleased me most, Mr. Crofts, the King's bastard, a most pretty spark of about fifteen years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her; and I hear the Queens both are mighty kind to him. By and by in comes the King, and anon the Duke [of York] and his Duchess; so that they, being all together, was such a sight as I never could almost have happened to see with so much ease and leisure. They staid till it was dark; and then went away; the King and his Queen

and my Lady Castlemaine and young Crofts in one coach, and the rest in other coaches." Surrounded by so varied an assemblage—his lately married wife, his new mistress, and the handsome son bequeathed to him by his old one,—Charles, one would think, must have felt rather bewildered as he cast his eyes this evening first on one side and then on the other, and must have sometimes been almost inclined to doubt whether he was not become "three gentlemen at once."

It was not long after this that the project was taken up of marrying young Crofts to the Countess of Buccleuch. Our fullest information is derived from Clarendon, who was himself consulted on the occasion. After observing that the boy, when he came over, was "very handsome, and performed those exercises gracefully which youths of that age used to learn in France," he states that "the King received him with extraordinary fondness, and was willing that every body should believe him to be his son, though he did not yet make any declaration that he looked upon him as such, otherwise than by his kindness and familiarity towards him." Nor did his Majesty, we are told, though he assigned him a liberal maintenance, take such care for his being strictly brought up as his age required. Now, General Monk, it seems had, during the time of his command in Scotland, much cultivated the acquaintance of the Countess of Wemyss, the mother of the Countess of Buccleuch; and "all men believed that the General's purpose was to get this lady for his own son, a match suitable enough." But it can have been only since

he left Scotland that this scheme formed itself in Monk's head; for while he was there, and for a considerable time after, the Countess Mary was still living, and the present possessor of the title and estates was only a younger sister. Clarendon, however, does not seem to have adverted to this; indeed he speaks of Lady Wemyss as having had only one daughter by her former husband; and he talks of Monk's design of securing her for his son as having been interfered with by "the time being now changed,"—that is to say, by the restoration of the monarchy. It was the Earl of Lauderdale, he proceeds to state, who, "being a good courtier, thought his country-woman might be much better married if she were given to the King for this youth, towards whom he expressed so much fondness," —"those kinds of extractions," he is pleased to explain, "carrying little disadvantage with them in Scotland." Monk, also, now, "whatever thoughts he had before, would not be so ill a courtier as not to advance such a proposition." "The lady," it is added, "was already in possession of the greatest fortune in Scotland, which would have a fair addition upon the death of her mother."* James's biographer makes the Countess's fortune to have been about £10,000 a-year.†

When the matter was mentioned to the King, we are told, he "liked the motion well; and so the mother was sent to, to bring up her daughter to London." The preliminary arrangements were negotiated with the Countess of Wemyss principally by the intervention of Lauderdale. At length, the parties having been

* *Life*, 206. † *Stuart Papers*, I., 493.

contracted, and the writings for settling everything being to be prepared, "it was now necessary," continues Clarendon, "that this young gentleman must have a name, and the Scots Advocate had prepared a draught, in which he was styled the King's natural son; and the King was every day pressed by the great lady [Lady Castlemaine], and those young men who knew the customs of France, to create him a nobleman of England; and was, indeed, very willing to be advised to that purpose." At last his Majesty mentioned the subject to Clarendon, and, showing him the draught, asked him what he thought of it, expressing himself at the same time in terms which implied that he intended to bestow upon the young gentleman some title of honour. The Chancellor, having read over the paper, observed, in the first place, that his Majesty need not give him any other title of honour than he would enjoy by his marriage, "by which he would by the law of Scotland be called Earl of Buccleuch, which would be title enough." And then he desired his Majesty to pardon him if he took the liberty of objecting to the designation or description given of the young gentleman by those who had prepared the draught, "wherein they had presumed to style him the King's natural son, which was never, at least in many ages, used in England, and would have an ill sound in England with all his people, who thought that those unlawful acts ought to be concealed, and not published and justified." He admitted that France, indeed, had, "with inconvenience enough to the crown," raised some families from births of this kind, but the mothers had always been "women

of great quality, and who had never been tainted with any other familiarity;" and he recommended, as more worthy of being followed, the practice of Spain, "which was, that the King took care for the good education of that child whom he believed to be his, but never publicly owned or declared him to be such till he had given some notable evidence of his inheriting or having acquired such virtues and qualities as made him, in the eyes of all men, worthy of such a descent." On the whole, he advised that in the present case such a declaration might be deferred for a few years; made by his Majesty at present, it "would be as unpopular an action in the hearts of his subjects as he could commit."

Charles, without seeming to concur in all this, did not appear to be offended; Queen Henrietta, who was not apt to take the same view of anything with the Chancellor, in this matter entirely went along with him, taking occasion soon after to speak to him at large about what was proposed to be done, "with much warmth and manifestation that she did not like it;" but the end was, that his Majesty both signed the declaration of his paternity, and created his son Duke of Monmouth—"very few persons dissuading it, and the Lady [Castlemaine] employing all her credit to bring it to pass."*

The patent of peerage, by which the quondam Master Crofts was made Baron of Tinedale in the county of Northumberland, Earl of Doncaster in the county of York, and Duke of Monmouth, with remainder to his heirs male, appears not to have passed the great seal

* *Clarendon, Life*, 207.

till the 14th of February 1663;* but he had assumed the title some months before this. On the 17th of November 1662 we have Pepys recording as follows:—"At Whitehall, by appointment; Mr. Creed carried my wife and I to the Cockpit, and we had excellent places, and saw the King, Queen, Duke of Monmouth his son, and my Lady Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies; and *The Scornful Lady* well performed. They had done by eleven o'clock, and, it being fine moonshine, we took coach, and home." So again, on the 30th of the following month:—"To Whitehall, where I carried my wife to see the Queen in her presence-chamber, and the Maids of Honour and the young Duke of Monmouth playing at cards. Some of them, and but a few, were very pretty; though all well dressed in velvet gowns."

The intended marriage, too, was already known to all the world. On the 29th of December,—having witnessed, at the Banquetting House at Whitehall, the audience given to the Russian Ambassador,—"after all was done," Pepys writes, "the company broke up; and I spent a little while walking up and down the gallery seeing the ladies, the two Queens, and the Duke of Monmouth, with his little mistress, which is very little and like my brother-in-law's wife." Two nights after the insatiable pursuer of pageantry and beauty again makes his way to the palace, when there is to be a ball in the royal presence, and gets into "the room where the ball was to be, crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the court." "By and by," proceeds his description

* *Collins*, III., 365; *Nicolas, Synopsis*, 432.

of what he saw, "comes the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess, and all the great ones; and, after seating themselves, the King takes out the Duchess of York; and the Duke, the Duchess of Buckingham; the Duke of Monmouth, my Lady Castlemaine; and so other lords, other ladies; and they danced the Brantle.* After that the King led a lady a single Coranto; and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies: very noble it was, and great pleasure to see.... Of the ladies that danced, the Duke of Monmouth's mistress and my Lady Castlemaine and a daughter of Sir Harry de Vic's were the best." Pepys staid as long as he thought fit, to his infinite content, it being the greatest pleasure he could now wish to see at court; and so the year ended, he says, with great mirth to himself and his wife.

On the 7th of February in the next year, 1663, the same Diarist notes that "the little Duke of Monmouth, it seems, is ordered to take place of all dukes, and so do follow Prince Rupert now, before the Duke of Buckingham, or any else." Even before he was ennobled the extraordinary distinction with which the boy was treated had set strange rumours and suspicions afloat. On the 27th of the preceding October Pepys is told by a friend of its being whispered "that young Crofts is lawful son to the King, the King being married to his mother." "How true this is," he observes, "God knows; but I believe the Duke of York will not be fooled in this [way] of three crowns." And in winding up his chronicle of that year he writes:—

* Or rather the *Bransle, Branle,* or *Brawl.*

"The Duke of Monmouth is in so great splendour at court, and so dandled by the King, that some doubt that, if the King should have no child by the Queen (which there is yet no appearance of), whether he would not be acknowledged for a lawful son; and that there will be a difference follow between the Duke of York and him; which God prevent!"

In a Chapter of the Order held at Whitehall on the 28th of March 1663, his Majesty being present, the Duke of Monmouth was elected a Knight of the Garter; and soon after a warrant was issued directing his banner to be placed over his stall in the Chapel at Windsor, with an armorial bearing, exhibiting in the first quarter three lions of the royal arms of England. Pepys saw him for the first time with his blue ribbon at the Chapel in Whitehall on the 8th of April. "I hear," he writes under the same date, "that the University of Cambridge did treat him a little while since with all the honour possible, with a comedy at Trinity College, and banquet; and made him Master of Arts there. All which, they say, the King took very well."

The marriage was solemnized on the 20th of April, at Whitehall, in the King's Chamber, according to Pepys; who adds that there was to be at night a great supper, with dancing, at the Duke's lodgings near Charing-Cross. The Fife Chronicler, who is always especially careful in recording that particular, tells us that "the marriage feast stood" in the Earl of Wemyss's house, their Majesties being both present, with divers of the Court.

On the same day, according to the English Peerage,

writers, who tell us that the Countess was "esteemed the greatest fortune and the finest lady in the three kingdoms," the bridegroom and bride were created by letters-patent Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, Earl and Countess of Dalkeith, and Baron and Baroness of Whitehaven and Ashdale (or rather Eskdale), in the peerage of Scotland.* If any such extraordinary creation took place, it is very extraordinary that the professional historians of the Scottish Peerage should know nothing of it; but all that they state is, that the new honours were granted, as usual, to the husband.† It is agreed, however, that their descent was limited, failing the heirs male of the Duke's body by his present wife, to the heirs of his body whatsoever who should succeed to the lands and Earldom of Buccleuch. It had been stipulated by the marriage contract that, failing the issue of the Countess, both her estate and peerage should devolve upon her husband and his heirs; and that settlement was ratified by an Act of the Scottish Parliament passed on the 5th of October in this year.‡ Finally, the ennobled and wedded youth, whose legal name was either Walters or Barlow, who had hitherto been commonly known by that of Crofts,

* *Collins*, III. 366.

† See *Wood's Douglas*, I. 254; also II. 687, where the terms of the grant are quoted, as being to the Duke "et haeredes ejus masculos ex corpore suo, inter illum et Annam Comitissam de Buccleuch procreandos; quibus deficientibus, haeredes quoscunque suo corpore descenden. qui succedent in praedia et comitatum de Buccleuch." In the Proceedings of the Scottish Parliament, too, before which the patent (which is said to be dated the 24th of April) was read on the 10th of July, it is described as only in favour of the Duke and his heirs.—*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, VII. 455.

‡ *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, VII. 494.

and who since his recognition by his royal father appears to have been sometimes called Fitzroy, sometimes Stuart, now assumed for himself and his descendants his wife's surname of Scott.

They are admitted on all hands to have made a very handsome couple, though in the point of stature the contrast they presented must have been rather remarkable. All reports agree on the subject of the uncommon personal advantages of the Duke, and his graces of manner as well as of face and figure. Nor was he without estimable qualities, as well as agreeable and attractive ones. Even the description given of him by his uncle King James is not unfavourable upon the whole, grudging as the expression is and tinctured in parts with spite and sarcasm:—"Though he had no great capacity, he was tall, well-shaped, of a good air, of a civil behaviour, and none danced better; and, with all this, he was very brave, which made him much courted by both sexes. Nor did he want cunning and an insinuating behaviour where he had a mind to please." This is consistent enough with the full-length delineation of him that we have in the *Mémoires de Grammont*:—"His face and the exterior graces of his person were such that nature has perhaps never formed anything more perfect. His countenance was altogether charming. It was a manly countenance, with nothing insipid, nothing effeminate; yet every feature had its peculiar charm and exquisiteness. He had a wonderful aptitude for all kinds of exercises, an engaging address, a lofty mien; in short, all bodily advantages pleaded in his favour; but, unfortunately, the mind within said

nothing. He had no opinions but what other people put into his head; and they who had first insinuated themselves into his friendship had taken care to put into it only such as were pernicious. His dazzling exterior at first struck with admiration. All the other most brilliant pretensions at Court were effaced as soon as he made his appearance, and the finest women were at his devotion. He was the darling and delight of the King, and the universal terror of husbands and lovers. This, however, did not last long; nature had not given him everything requisite for the conquest of hearts, and the fair sex ere long found that out." The summary of his character is sketched, indeed, in a somewhat more severe strain:—"He appeared in everything that which he showed himself in his public conduct,—rash in undertaking, uncertain in execution, and despicable in extremity, when much firmness ought at least to have answered to the greatness of the attempt."

This writer mentions some circumstances in connexion with the Duke's marriage which have not been elsewhere so fully or distinctly recorded. "The Duchess of Cleveland," he says, (meaning Lady Castlemaine, who was not made a Duchess till seven or eight years subsequent to this date,) "stormed against the King, because the children which she had by his Majesty were like so many little baboons by the side of this new Adonis. She was the more indignant, inasmuch as she conceived she might pass for the Mother of the Cupids as compared with his mother. Her reproaches were only laughed at; for some time, indeed, they were clearly quite unreasonable; and, as this jealousy

appeared more unfounded than all the others she had ever affected, nobody applauded this ridiculous resentment. It became necessary for her to assume another character in order to make the King uneasy; wherefore, ceasing to oppose the extreme fondness which blinded him for his son, she set herself to lavish her own upon the youth by a thousand expressions of admiration, and by caresses which only every day multiplied and grew warmer. As all was done openly, she pretended that it could be of no consequence; but she was too well known for people to be taken in by that. The King was no longer jealous of her; but, as the Duke of Monmouth was not of an age to be insensible to the allurements of a woman so beautiful as she was, he thought it necessary to withdraw him from the society of this pretended mother-in-law to preserve his innocence from criminality, or at any rate from scandal. This was the reason why he was married at so early an age. An heiress with an income of a hundred thousand livres in Scotland turned up very opportunely. She was very pretty [*pleine d'agrémens*], and she possessed besides all those graces of mind which were wanting to the handsome Monmouth." There is probably a thread of truth in this relation, and the main statement in it may perhaps be accepted as not without some foundation, notwithstanding the customary inaccuracy and indifference of the Count's lively historian as to subordinate circumstances.

Little as the Duke's affections can have been engaged, it may be supposed that his wife, with all her

prettiness and all her cleverness, would be able to keep him to herself for some little time. Young as they both were, they seem to have lived together from the first; and before the end of the year it was thought that the Duchess might safely be left even without the guidance or superintendence of her experienced mother.*

For the principal notices that we have of Monmouth and his wife during the first few years after their marriage we are indebted to Pepys, who continues to make himself very uneasy with his imagination of the King's intention to declare the son of Lucy Walters the heir to the crown. At the celebration of St. George's Feast at Windsor on the 24th of April 1663, it seems that, while the young Duke was dancing with the Queen, having his hat in his hand, "the King came in and kissed him, and made him put on his hat, which everybody took notice of." Pepys was at this time by no means sure that Monmouth was not entitled to the succession. On the 14th of May we have him committing his secret thoughts to paper as follows:— "Met Mr. Moore, and with him to an alehouse in Holborn; where in discourse he told me that he fears the King will be tempted to endeavour the setting the crown upon the little Duke, which may cause troubles; which God forbid, *unless it be his due.*" It may be doubted, perhaps, whether it was altogether the love of right and justice which prompted these last words, or

* "June 3, 1663, the Earl of Wemyss returned, but not his lady. November 23, 1663, the Lady Wemyss returned, with her son, the Lord Elcho; but the Lady Buccleuch did not return, being married to his Majesty's son, as it is afterwards declared."—*Lamont's Diary*, 187.

partly a provident recollection that there was no knowing what might yet happen. Afterwards, however, a conversation which he had with a Mr. Allsop, his Majesty's brewer, who told him what manner of woman the Duke's mother was well known to have been before the King became acquainted with her, seems to have gone far to convince him of her son's illegitimacy. This was on the 22nd of February 1664. Monmouth, however, the brewer at the same time informed him, had declared he would be the death of any man who should say that the King was not married to his mother. A brother, too, of Mrs. Walters, or Barlow, had, it seems, a place at Court; and the fiery Welshman, Allsop said, was likewise in the habit of talking "very broad of the King's being married to his sister."

There was one fashionable accomplishment in which the young Duke and Duchess seem to have had no superiors, if, indeed, they did not excel all their contemporaries. Their dancing was perfection. At a masquerade held before the King and Court in the beginning of the year 1665, of which Pepys, though, to his regret no doubt, he was not himself a witness of it, took care to obtain a full and particular account from a lady who was present, he was informed that "six women (my Lady Castlemaine and Duchess of Monmouth being two of them), and six men (the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Avon and Monsieur Blanquefort being three of them), in vizards, but most rich and antique dresses, did dance admirably and most gloriously." On another occasion, after having been some hours in his company,

(it was in July of this same year, when he had come up from Greenwich in the royal barge along with the King and the Duke of York as well as Monmouth), he observes:—"The Duke of Monmouth is the most skittish leaping gallant that ever I saw, always in action, vaulting, or leaping, or clambering." At the ball on the Queen's birth-day, the 15th of November, the following year, at which the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth again figured, it was not, indeed, the dancing that gave Pepys the most delight, seated as he was in the loft, to which he had got up with much ado, and where, although he could see very well, it was not without much trouble. "Upon the whole matter," he says, "the business of the dancing of itself was not extraordinarily pleasing. But the clothes and sight of the persons were indeed very pleasing, and worth my coming, being never likely to see more gallantry while I live, if I should come twenty times." But the comparative indifference with which he looked this night on the bransles and corants, and other Terpsichorean performances, is sufficiently explained by what he immediately adds:—"My Lady Castlemaine (without whom all is nothing) being there very rich, though not dancing."

And so the life of the young couple continues to flow glitteringly on, both ever among the leading stars in the continued round of gaiety and revelry. Thus in June 1667, that never to be forgotten month of shame, when a hostile armament rifled Chatham, Pepys writes:—"Sir H. Cholmly come to me this day, and tells me the Court is as mad as ever; and that the night the Dutch burned our ships the King did sup with

my Lady Castlemaine at the Duchess of Monmouth's, and there were all mad in hunting of a poor moth." Soon afterwards another friend informs him "that the King is, at this day, every night in Hyde Park with the Duchess of Monmouth or with my Lady Castlemaine."

Meanwhile, long before this date, it is come to be well known that the Duke had begun to give himself up to much wilder license and excess. In December of the preceding year Pepys was told by Lord Brouncker that he spent his time not only in the idlest but in the most vicious manner that could be. His Lordship's opinion was that he would never be fit for anything; yet he spoke as if it were still not impossible that the King might declare him legitimate, and acknowledge that he had been married to his mother.

The young Duchess, on the other hand, was soon after this suddenly withdrawn from at least the same active participation as heretofore in the dissipation and frivolity to which, energetically as she had mingled in it, we must suppose that she had all along felt herself to be superior. On the night of the 13th of January 1668 Mrs. Pepys was present at Court, where "the ladies and Duke of Monmouth and others" acted Dryden's play of *The Indian Emperor;* and her report, as recorded by her husband, was, "that not any woman but the Duchess of Monmouth and Mrs. Cornwallis did any thing but like fools and stocks, but that these two did do most extraordinary well." In Mrs. Pepys's opinion, too, none of the men did better than the generality of the women, with the exception of a Captain Olrigran (as the unknown name appears to be written),

"who spoke and did well, but above all things did dance most incomparably;"—so that, at least if Pepys's wife was as good a judge as himself, the Duke would appear to have by this time begun to fall off even in what had been wont to be his most remarkable accomplishment. His wife's dancing was soon to be brought to a full stop. On the 9th of May following Pepys hears "that last night the Duchess of Monmouth, dancing at her lodgings, hath sprained her thigh." This turns out to be a very serious mishap. Under date of the 15th we read:—"The Duchess of Monmouth's hip is, I hear, now set again, after much pain." But two months later we have the following entry:—"My Lady Duchess of Monmouth is still lame, and likely always to be so; which is a sad chance for a young lady to get only by trying of tricks in dancing." And on the 20th of September it is further recorded that "the Duchess of Monmouth is at this time in great trouble of the shortness of her lame leg, which is likely to grow shorter and shorter, that she will never recover it."

But, if the Duchess was never able to dance again, she was not thereby subjected to utter social extinction, or prevented from still shining in other ways. She was one of several ladies of the Court, Lady Castlemaine being another, whom, in the beginning of March in the following year, Pepys found dining in the Treasurer's house at Deptford in company with the Duke and Duchess of York, when he himself and Sir Jeremiah Smith were, after their superiors had finished their repast, invited to take their places below stairs at the

table of the Maids of Honour,—whom, he says, it did him good to have the honour to dine with, and to look on. "And here," he adds, "drank most excellent and great variety and plenty of wines, more than I have drank at once these seven years, but yet did me no great hurt." "And then," he continues, "observing how this company, both the ladies and all, are of a gang, and did drink a health to the union of the two brothers, and talking of others as their enemies; and so we up; and there I did find the Duke of York and Duchess, with all the great ladies, sitting upon a carpet on the ground, there being no chairs, playing at 'I love my love with an A, because he is so and so; and I hate him with an A, because of this and that;' and some of them, but particularly the Duchess herself and my Lady Castlemaine, were very witty." However she may have comported herself on this occasion, we know that the Duchess of Monmouth could, when she chose, talk as brilliantly as any one. "She is one of the wisest and craftiest of her sex, and has much wit," writes Evelyn, after dining with her and the Duke at Lord Arlington's on the 16th of March 1673; the great scholar Isaac Vossius having been also of the party.*

Her husband and she appear to have continued to

* "She is very assuming [amusing?] and witty," says another observer, "but hath little sincerity."—*Hon. Henry Sidney*, in *Diary*, 15th June 1679. Sidney further asserts, not only that "she governed the Duke [of York], and made him do several things for her husband which he repents of," but also that it was by her Monmouth was put on to take up the pretensions by which he repeatedly incurred the King's displeasure.

reside together for some sixteen or eighteen years after their marriage. She brought Monmouth a family of four sons and two daughters;—Charlotte; Charles, born in August 1672; James, in May 1674; Anne, in February 1675; Henry, in 1676; and Francis, in 1678. Charles, however, died in 1673; Francis in 1679; and Charlotte in 1683.

Meanwhile the Duke had certainly not been cultivating either the pleasures or the virtues of domestic life. It is no part of the purpose of these pages to follow him throughout his public career, which makes part of the history of the kingdom;—to tell how he was appointed to one office of distinction or emolument after another by the favour of the Crown; to that of Master of the Horse in 1665; to the command of the first troop of Life Guards in 1668; to the Captain-Generalship of all the King's forces in 1670; to the Lord-Lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire, the Chief-Justiceship in Eyre on the South side of the Trent, and a seat in the Privy Council, in the same year; to the dignity of Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland in 1672; how in that and the following year he commanded an English force sent by Charles to the assistance of Louis the Fourteenth in the Low Countries, and gained great reputation by his conduct and bravery at the siege and capture of Maestricht; how in 1674 he was on the royal recommendation elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; how in 1677 he was made Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Stafford; how the next year he went over to Holland, and served

under the Prince of Orange against the French; how from about this time he was taken up by the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Whig party, and flattered with the hope of being set by their aid upon the throne; how, nevertheless, in the summer of 1679, he went to Scotland in command of the forces sent against their friends the Covenanters there, whose rebellion he suppressed at Bothwell Bridge; how he now, by the forward part he took in urging the exclusion of the Duke of York and in promoting the credit of the Popish Plot, rose rapidly to as great a height in the popular favour as he had heretofore enjoyed in that of the Court; how in September 1679 he was deprived of his post of Lord-General, or Commander-in-Chief, and ordered abroad; how after about two months he returned without leave, and was thereupon immediately removed from all his other places; how in 1682 he was by the direction of the King superseded in the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge; how the next year he was taken into custody on the charge of having been a party to the Ryehouse Plot; how he confessed his guilt, and then retracted his confession, and ultimately obtained his pardon by repeating it; how in the latter part of the year 1684 he withdrew to Brussels; how, early in June of the following year, after the accession of James, he reappeared at the head of a small body of armed followers with the avowed design of seizing the crown; how, on the 6th of July, his attempt was crushed at once at the rout of Sedgmoor; how, two days after, the ambitious aspirant, now a sculking fugitive, fell into the hands of his enemies; and how then followed his

instant committal to the Tower, and within another week his death on the scaffold. All this is in all the Histories.

Nor needs there much to be added to what has already been said in regard to the general course of his private life. In the midst of many fleeting *amours* he had early formed one connexion which held him for a good many years: by Eleanor, younger daughter of Sir Robert Needham, of Lambeth, he had a family of two sons and two daughters, to whom he gave, or who assumed, the name of Crofts.* But long before his death, his attachment in this quarter had given place to another, which soon took possession of him so as no preceding one had ever done.

The first notice that we have of Henrietta Wentworth is in a letter from Lady Sunderland to her brother Henry Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney), dated the 30th of January 1680, in which she says:—"The Duke of Monmouth has so little employment in state affairs, that he has been at leisure to send two fine ladies out of town. My Lord Grey has carried his wife into

* Henry, the younger son, died unmarried in 1704; James, the elder, was still living in 1706, and unmarried: of the daughters, Isabella, the younger, died in childhood; the elder, Henrietta, became in 1697 the third wife of Charles Paulet, then Marquis of Winchester, afterwards second Duke of Bolton, by whom she had a son, Lord Nassau Paulet, one of whose daughters married John James third Earl of Egmont, and was the grandmother of the fifth Earl, who died without issue in 1841: the present Earl of Egmont is of different descent. Eleanor Needham, the mother of these Crofts, survived Monmouth many years. She was still living in 1706, and was then the wife of John South, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, to whom she is stated to have borne one daughter.—*Sandford*, 645.

Northumberland; and my Lady Wentworth's ill eyes did find cause, as she thought, to carry her daughter into the country in so much haste that it makes a great noise, and was done sure in some passion." As for Lady Grey, who was a daughter of the house of Berkeley, let us presume, spite of contemporary scandal, that she effected her escape; her husband, one of Monmouth's chief associates and confederates, and a man who scarcely laid claim to any kind of principle, had been long, Lady Sunderland adds, in believing that his friend the Duke could be unfaithful to him on so tender a point, and had given his wife "but one night's time to take leave, pack up, and be gone;" then, it would appear from another letter, after having deposited her in security in the far north, he had returned and joined Monmouth in Sussex.* This energetic course of action adopted by her natural protector may possibly have saved the married lady. But it was not decreed that Lady Wentworth should succeed in rescuing her daughter from the fascination of the fatal brightness by which the beautiful and susceptible girl had seemed to the alarmed maternal eye in such danger of being absorbed.

Henrietta Wentworth was a peeress in her own right, having succeeded to the barony of Wentworth, created by writ in 1529, on the death of her grandfather, the fourth Baron, who was also Earl of Cleveland, in 1667. Her father, whose only child she was, had died in 1664.†

* *Sidney Diary and Letters*, I. 240, 263.

† Several writers, both in modern times and of her own age, have blundered in regard to who Monmouth's mistress was. Horace Walpole

She had been brought up under the care of her mother at the family seat of Toddington, or Tuddington, in Bedfordshire. There they inhabited together an ancestral mansion, which, in extent and architectural pretensions, ranked among the most imposing in the county. Thither it must have been that Lady Wentworth carried her daughter in January 1680. Not in mere passion, or without abundant reason, as was in the end too surely proved. It was probably not long after this that the young and noble maiden, breaking through all bonds, and casting to the winds all thought both of this world and of another, gave herself to Monmouth and his love as the unwithholding river gives itself to the sea.

Nor was it long before the mother too, as it would seem, became quite reconciled to the connexion. In the summer of 1683, while Monmouth was keeping out of the way on a proclamation having come forth for his apprehension as one of the Ryehouse conspirators, he lay for the most part, we are told, at Toddington, or travelled about with the two Lady Wentworths.* He had not yet, however, altogether deserted or broken with his wife. It was the Duchess,

somewhere expresses a suspicion that she cannot have been the Baroness Wentworth, seeing that she is always spoken of as the Lady Henrietta Wentworth,—which is not the fact, and would not go for anything if it were. Sir John Reresby, again, calls her not only the Lady Henrietta, but the *daughter* of the Earl of Cleveland. Contemporaries are sometimes imperfectly informed or careless about such matters as well as persons of another age. Yet it is strange to find so accurate a writer as Dr. Lingard speaking of the patriot William Lord Russell as "Lord William Russell,"—a name which he never bore at any time of his life, and which altogether misrepresents his social position and importance.

* *Carte's Ormonde*, II. 530.

it is said, who persuaded him to make his first confession or submission in November of this year; and after he had withdrawn that declaration, and was in consequence forbidden the Court, he retired in the beginning of December to his country seat at Moor Park, in Hertfordshire, "where," we are told, "a day's conversation with his lady made him repent of his conduct, and willing to sign any paper of the same nature with that which he had signed before."* But this appears to have been the last time that he looked near her. He maintained, indeed, that Lady Wentworth, and not the Duchess, was properly his wife, or the person to whom he was really wedded in his heart and in the sight of heaven. When, towards the end of the next year, he went over to Brussels, she followed him thither. "And both he and she," Burnet adds, "came to fancy that, he being married to his Duchess while he was, indeed, of the age of consent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: so they lived together; and she had heated both herself and him with such enthusiastic conceits that they fancied what they did was approved of God."† As usual, Monmouth does not lead or draw, but is impelled or driven; nobody ever thinks of him as originating anything; his mind is only the water which the fire of some other, brought to act upon it, heats into steam. From Brussels he carried Lady Wentworth with him to the Hague; and there she, as well as himself, was treated with the most marked attention by both the Prince and Princess of Orange.‡

* *Carte's Ormonde*, 533. † *Own Time*, I. 630.

‡ *D'Avaux, Négociations*, iv. 118.

It was the aid of his devoted mistress that enabled him to fit out his ill-fated expedition for the invasion of England; his confederate Lord Grey, in an account of that attempt, states that a great part of the goods made over as the security for a sum of seventy thousand guilders, borrowed from a Dutch merchant, were Lady Wentworth's or her mother's; "but I cannot distinguish," he adds, "between the Duke of Monmouth's and theirs." * So thoroughly were all three now at one, so completely had the enthusiastic and energetic girl brought over her mother as well as her lover to her own transcendental notions.

Another passage in Grey's narrative reveals a little of the state to which things had by this time come between the Duke and his wife. In a conversation they had at the Hague a few days before the death of Charles the Second, he complained bitterly to Grey of the Duchess, who, having obtained from the King grants of certain portions of her husband's property before he had had his pardon for his concern in the Ryehouse Plot, now refused to permit him to dispose of a manor for which he could have got ten thousand pounds; "he was extremely enraged with his wife, and very much disturbed at his disappointment of the money." †

* *Grey's Secret History*, 118.

† *Id.*, 83. — The grants alluded to by Grey are no doubt those mentioned by Mr. Sergeant Heywood (*Vindication of Fox's History*, 417) as recorded in an abstract of Royal Grants in his possession to have been made in January 1685, but which date he supposes must be incorrect as being six months before Monmouth's attainder. The first grant is of the manors of Spalding and Holbech, and the former is the very manor which Grey specifies. The other grant was of all the other chattels real, and goods and chattels, forfeited by the Duke (on

The Duchess had come, not unnaturally, to regard her husband and herself as having, in many respects, quite different and opposite interests.*

It was about eight o'clock on the evening of Monday the 13th of June 1685 that Monmouth, having been captured on the 8th, was sent in one of the royal barges from Whitehall to the Tower, after having been admitted to an interview with the King in Chiffinch's apartments, at which, with his arms tied behind his back, he threw himself at his Majesty's feet, and, with tears in his eyes, making full acknowledgment that he deserved to die, begged his life in every form of humblest entreaty, but in vain. His children, two boys

account of the Ryehouse Plot), including "the lease of the house which the said Duke had building for him in Soho Square," which the trustees are to convey to certain parties named, upon their payment to the Duchess of £1200. Some years before this Monmouth inhabited a house in Hedge Lane (now the lower part of Wardour Street).

* Lodge says that the Duke, shortly before embarking upon the adventure the issue of which proved so disastrous, had resolved to retire with the Lady Wentworth to Germany, and there to pass the rest of his days in privacy. A letter, stated to have been written by him to a friend from "his retirement in Holland, a little before his attempt in the West," has been printed by Dr. Welwood, in which he says :—"In these three weeks' retirement in this place I have not only looked back but forward ; and, the more I consider our present circumstances, I think them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen accident fall out, which I cannot divine nor hope for . . . . . For my part, I 'll run the hazard of being thought anything, rather than a rash, inconsiderate man. And, to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retired life, that I 'm never like to be fond of making a bustle in the world again."—*Memoirs, Appendix* xv. "In his latter years," says Welwood, "he used to complain of the little care had been taken of his education ; and in his disgrace endeavoured to make up that want by applying himself to study, in which he made in a short time no inconsiderable progress. He took the occasion of his afflictions to inform his mind, and recollect and amend the errors of youth." *Id.* 174.

and a girl, had been seized and consigned to the same state prison a few days before; and the Duchess had insisted upon following them thither and taking up her abode along with them. She was conducted to her husband on the same night on which he arrived. Burnet thus notices their interview:—"He showed a great neglect of his Duchess. And her resentments for his course of life with the Lady Wentworth wrought so much on her, that she seemed not to have any of that tenderness left that became her sex and his present circumstances; for, though he desired to speak privately with her, she would have witnesses to hear all that passed, to justify herself and to preserve her family. They parted very coldly. He only recommended to her the breeding their children in the Protestant religion." A somewhat different impression is left by a more detailed narrative which was drawn up at the moment, and by a writer who had evidently taken all pains to inform himself from the best sources.* Nothing is here said of any desire having been expressed by Monmouth to see his wife. The Duchess, we are merely told, having obtained leave of his Majesty to see her husband, "and desiring my Lord Privy Seal might be by all the while, that no discourse might pass betwixt them but what was fitting his Majesty should know, was conducted to him by his lordship." The Lord Privy Seal

* "Account of the Actions and Behaviour of the Duke of Monmouth, from the time he was taken to his Execution;" dated "London, 16th July 1685;" and signed I. F.; first published in full, from the MS. in the possession of the Buccleuch family, by the late Rt. Hon. George Rose, in his *Observations on Fox's History of James II.*; 4to. London, 1809.

was the Earl of Clarendon (son of the historian). The interview is described as having been "melancholy enough;" but the tenderness does not appear to have been overpowering on either side. The Duke saluted his wife when she entered, and said he was very glad to see her; but most of what he afterwards spoke was addressed to the Lord Privy Seal, and related principally to the considerations that, as he thought, might still induce his Majesty to suffer him to live. Clarendon was obliged to tell him that he had no order or commission to converse with him on that subject, that his directions simply were to wait on his lady and conduct her to him, and he begged that, if he had anything to say to him in relation to his wife and children, he would lose no time in saying it; if he had anything to say to his lady which he did not wish him to hear, he would withdraw into the next room. To this Monmouth only replied that he had nothing to say to the Duchess but what his lordship might hear, and then returned to his hopes of a pardon, and the reasons there were which should move the King to spare him. "Then," continues the account, "the Duchess took the liberty to interrupt him in these digressions and imaginary expectations of life, and, after some general things, asked him, If ever she had the least notice and correspondence with him about these matters? or had ever assented to or approved of his conduct during those four or five last years? if ever she had done anything in the whole course of her life to displease or disoblige him, or ever was uneasy to him in any thing but two, one as to his women and the other for his

disobedience to the late King, whom she always took the liberty to advise him to obey, and never was pleased with the disobedient course of life he lived in towards him? If in anything else she had failed of the duty and obedience that became her as his wife, she humbly begged the favour to disclaim it, and she would fall down on her knees and beg his pardon for it. To which moving discourse he answered, that she had always shown herself a very kind, loving, and dutiful wife towards him, and had nothing imaginable to charge her with, either against her virtue and duty to him, her steady loyalty and affection to the late King, or kindness and affection towards his children; that she was always averse to the practice of his life and behaviour towards the late King, and advised to great compliance and obedience towards his commands." It is afterwards mentioned that, among other things that passed between them, the Duchess declared that for the last four or five years all that she had derived from her estates in Scotland had been only £1100 (annually, is probably meant); all the rest he had taken for his own purposes. So long, then, it would appear, they had lived separate.

On the morning of Wednesday the 15th, immediately before the unfortunate man was led out to execution, his children were brought to take farewell of him. The scene, as they clung "all crying about him," is described by the same narrator, as "the mournfullest in the world," and one which "no byestander could see without melting in tears." Yet "he did not shew the least concernedness." Nor was he more moved when immediately afterwards his wife was again introduced. He

only repeated before the reverend divines and others who were present what he had before said about her dutiful conduct and how averse she had been to all his irregular courses; declaring "that she knew nothing of his last design, not having heard from himself a year before, which was his own fault, and no unkindness in her, because she knew not how to direct her letters to him. In that he gave her the kindest character that could be, and begged her pardon of his many failings and offences to her, and prayed her to continue her kindness and care to his poor children. At this expression she fell down on her knees with her eyes full of tears, and begged him to pardon her if ever she had done anything to offend and displease him, and, embracing his knees, fell into a sound [swoon], out of which they had much ado to raise her up in a good while after."

On the morning of the preceding day, Tuesday the the 14th, Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, had been sent to him by the King to intimate to him that he must prepare to die within four-and-twenty hours. They remained with him all the day, and also sat up in his chamber all night, watching him while he slept. The discourse they had with him was chiefly directed to convince him first of the guilt of his rebellion against the King, secondly of that of his connexion with the Lady Wentworth. One account expressly affirms that they got him to own that he and she had lived in all respects as man and wife, although "they could not make him confess it was adultery."* And with this the other accounts are quite

* Letter, dated July 16, 1685, from Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, to

consistent. According to that of the *Buccleuch MS.*, the Duke was charged by the two Bishops with having lived with the Lady Wentworth without regard to the laws of God or man for the last two years. In reply he said, "that it was too true that he had for a long time lived a very dissolute and irregular life, and been guilty of frequent breaches of the conjugal vow; that he had often humbled himself for it before God, and hoped he would pardon him; that, as for his conversation with the Lady Henrietta Wentworth, whom the world had much aspersed because of that, he knew her to be a virtuous and godly lady (these were his own words), and far from deserving the unkind censure she lies under on his account; that it is true that their conversation was very intimate together; but, whatever was of it, he had consulted God in prayer about it to know his pleasure and approbation, and had not met with any return that marked his dislike or discountenancing of their conversation; that for the last two years he had made it his business to lead a more sober and regular course of life than he had done before, . . . towards the effecting whereof he did what he could to subdue and mortify his body by frequent fasting and prayer." He declared that this had had the effect of so regulating his feelings towards the lady in question, that they were the farthest from anything improper in the world. It was to no purpose that the Bishops argued with him that by no law of the land, or any ever practised among Christians, could he be allowed to

Fell, Bishop of Oxford, first printed by Hearne in the Appendix to the first volume of his "Walteri Hemingford Historia," 1731.

have another woman in addition to his wife, and that the Lady Wentworth, "for all her virtue and goodness that he talked of," never having been married to him, must needs be no better than she should be, and could not have lived with him without guilt and sin, to be acknowledged and repented of by both of them. To all this he replied, "that when he was married to the Duchess of Monmouth he was very young and under age, and did not well know what he did, or oblige himself to perform, on that account; that he had not that perfect love and affection for her that either she deserved or he wished himself to have had towards her, which was the occasion of his going so frequently astray from her and running after other women; that the Lady Henrietta Wentworth was the person in the world that cured him of that wandering appetite, having met with in her conversation all the blessings he could promise himself or expect; that they had consulted God by prayer and fasting about it, and were satisfied in their consciences of the innocency and sincerity of the intention. And, talking thus enthusiastically on that head, and giving no better reason for his opinion and practice than what is here set down, he went on to the great amazement of those learned and pious divines." One of them, to stop him, asked him, whether he did or did not admit polygamy and adultery to be sins? He protested that he altogether disowned both, and believed them to be damnable sins, which those who were guilty of, unless they repented, could not be saved. Yet it was found impossible to extricate him from the strange notions he

had taken up about his own particular case. He admitted, however, that the Duchess was his *lawful* wife, and the children she had borne to him his own. Bishop Lloyd says, he stated, with regard to his affection for Lady Wentworth, that he had prayed that if it were pleasing to God it might continue, that otherwise it might cease; that it did continue, and therefore he had no doubt that God approved of it. "After all," Lloyd adds, "he desired them to give him the communion next morning. They told him they could not do it while he was in that error and sin. He said, he was sorry for it. The next morning he told them he had prayed that if he was in an error in that matter God would convince him of it; but God had not convinced him; and therefore he believed it was no error." *

Poor Monmouth met his fate at last with great calmness and resolution; but even after he stood upon the scaffold he re-affirmed very distinctly and earnestly his adherence to the "enthusiastic persuasion" which his spiritual advisers had struggled so hard to combat. Turning to the people as if about to make a premeditated speech, he began:—"I have had a scandal raised upon me about a woman, a lady of virtue and honour. I will name her,—the Lady Henrietta Wentworth. I declare that she is a very virtuous and godly woman. I have

* The conduct of the two Right Reverend counsellors and consolers of the dying man is not altogether approved of by Bishop Burnet. "They did certainly very well," he observes, "in discharging their consciences, and speaking so plainly to him. But they did very ill to talk so much of this matter, and to make it so public as they did; for divines ought not to repeat what they say to dying penitents, no more than what the penitents say to them. By this means the Duke of Monmouth had little satisfaction in them, and they had as little in him."—*Own Time*, I. 645.

committed no sin with her, and that which hath passed between us was very honest and innocent in the sight of God." One of the divines (there were now four of them, Dr. Tenison, Rector of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, "whom," says the *Buccleuch MS.*, "he usually heard when he lived in London before his first disgrace," and Dr. Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, having joined the others) here broke in with—"In your opinion, perhaps, sir; but this is not fit discourse in this place;" to which Mr. Sheriff Gostlin, or Gosling, in his argumentative zeal, subjoined, "Sir, were you ever married to her?" "This is not a time," replied Monmouth, "to answer that question."* "He said," writes Bishop Lloyd, "for these two years last past he had not lived in any sin that he knew of; and that he had never wronged any person, and that he was sure when he died to go to God, and therefore he did not fear death, which, he said, they might see in his face. Then they prayed for him, and he kneeled down and joined with them." When prayers were over, he was asked whether he would not send some dutiful message to his Majesty, and recommend to his favour his wife and children. "What harm have they done?" he replied. "Do it, if you please." Afterwards, the official account states, he called his servant, and giving him something like a toothpick case, said, "Here, give this to the person to whom you are to deliver the other things." The man, one Marshall, had been in the service of Sir Thomas

* Account of the Execution, published (by authority) at the time, and reprinted in the *Somers Tracts;* ix. 260—265.

Armstrong, one of those who had suffered on account of the Rye-house plot, and he now attended Monmouth by the King's leave. "He gave this Marshall overnight his ring and watch," Lloyd relates, "and now he gave him his case of pickteeth;—all for Lady Harriet."

Weak as his logic may be deemed, Monmouth's love at least was strong enough. And strong, too, even as death itself, was hers who was thus fondly loved. Where Lady Wentworth was in those terrible first days of July—where sheltered or hidden throughout the driving storm of events which made him who had left her to strike for a crown first a discomfited fugitive, then a captive, then a decapitated trunk—the story does not say. It appears that she had returned to England before the end of the preceding year,* when she was soon after followed by Monmouth, who, having come over and remained a few weeks, had a secret interview with his royal father on the 30th of November, being the last time they ever met. She probably hastened back to the Continent as soon as all was over. A servant whom she had dispatched from Holland with a letter to Sir William Smith is stated to have been arrested by the Mayor of Dover, and sent in custody to London, in the beginning of August.† On the 23rd of April thereafter Henrietta Wentworth followed him for whom she had sacrificed all out of a world which his

* *Roberts*, I. 178—on the authority of a letter of Viscount Weymouth's, dated December 6,—where to be found is not stated.

† *Roberts*, II. 340, on the authority of a document among the *Sunderland Papers* in the State-Paper Office.

death nine months before had made to her for ever "an universal blank."

"Ah, judge her gently who so deeply loved!"

We are not told whether she died abroad or in her native land, but she was buried among her noble ancestors in the parish church of Toddington; and there, in the transept, yet is, or lately was, to be seen, though neglected and dilapidated, a monument which had been set up to preserve her memory by the boundless affection of her mother, and which had proudly proclaimed, by every form of sumptuous decoration, that there was one heart by which she was still held both in love and in honour, let all others deem of her as they might.* The Dowager Lady Wentworth survived her daughter about ten years.

Upon his widow the blow of the Duke's bloody death fell no doubt with much less weight. "The Duchess of Monmouth," the author of the *Buccleuch MS.* writes

* *Lysons's Bedfordshire*, 142.—It is said to have cost two thousand pounds. "But a less costly memorial of her," says a great living writer, "was long contemplated with far deeper interest. Her name, carved by the hand of him whom she loved too well, was, a few years ago, still discernible on a tree in the adjoining park."—*Macaulay, History of England*, I. 624.

The old mansion of the Wentworths was mostly pulled down about a century ago. Lysons mentions an ancient plan of it in which two adjacent rooms were described as *The Duke of Monmouth's Parlour* and *My Lady's Parlour*.

Dr. Lingard (*Hist. Eng.* xiii. 47) quotes an unpublished letter of the French ambassador, Barillon, dated 26th July 1685, in which it is asserted that Monmouth had left a child by Lady Wentworth. Mr. Roberts (*Life*, II. 340) says, mysteriously, "The writer of a tract, pub-

on the day after the execution, "has demeaned herself, during this severe trial and dispensation of Providence, with all Christian temper and composition of spirit that possibly could appear in a soul so great and virtuous as hers. His Majesty is exceedingly satisfied with her conduct and deportment all along, and has assured her that he will take a care of her and her children. In the afternoon many ladies went and paid the compliment of condolence to her, and when they had told her how great reason she had to bear this dispensation with that virtue that has appeared always in the actions of her life, and how the world celebrated her prudency and conduct during her late lord's disloyalty and behaviour to the late King, and his unkindness to her, that justly gave her a name that few of the former or present ages ever arrived at, ... she modestly replied, that she had bought that commendation dear."

Of course it was never intended that the Duchess should in any way be involved in the destruction of her

lished at Milan, states this lady had children by Monmouth." But the most curious notice is the following, given by Mr. Banks in his *Dormant and Extinct Baronage*, (Appendix to Volume II., p. 43), from a *MS.* in his possession :—"Lady Henrietta Wentworth, by the Duke of Monmouth, had a son aged two years at the death of his mother ; who was taken under the care of a Colonel Smyth, aide-de-camp to the Duke ; which worthy gentleman brought him up as his own child, and upon his decease left him his property, and he assumed the name of his foster-father and benefactor. He married Maria-Julia Dalzel, grand-daughter of General James Crofts, natural son of the Duke of Monmouth, by Eleanor, daughter of Sir Robert Needham, of Lambeth ; by her he had a son, Ferdinand Smyth, who afterwards took the name of Stuart ; whose services and losses in the American war were long a subject of memorial to the Lords of the Treasury. He was a man of talent, energy, and enterprise, whose birth entitled him to a better recompense, and more notice than was taken of him."

husband. She had always been a favourite with James. Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, who had early had a quarrel with Monmouth, mentions, as one of the things to which the latter was originally most indebted for his advancement, "the great friendship which the Duke of York had openly professed to his wife, a lady of wit and reputation, who had both the ambition of making her husband considerable, and the address of succeeding in it by using her interest in so friendly an uncle." Sheffield professes to believe that the Duke had no design except to convert her to Romanism. He goes on, however, "Whether this familiarity of theirs was contrived, or only connived at, by the Duke of Monmouth himself, is hard to determine; but I well remember that, after these two princes had become declared enemies, the Duke of York one day told me, with some emotion, as conceiving it a new mark of his nephew's insolence, that he had forbidden his wife to receive any more visits from him; at which I could not forbear frankly replying, that I, who was not used to excuse him, yet could not hold from doing it in that case, wishing his Highness might have no juster cause to complain of him; upon which the Duke, surprised to find me excuse his and my own enemy, changed the discourse immediately."* Sir Walter Scott thought that Dryden, in his play of *The Duke of Guise* (first brought out in December 1682), intended to sketch the Duchess of Monmouth in the character of Marmoutière, and that the suspicions of Marmoutière with the King expressed by Guise in the third Scene of the fourth Act were

* *Memoirs of Charles* II., 12.

meant to shadow forth Monmouth's causeless jealousy of his wife with the Duke of York.*

Monmouth had been cited to appear within sixty days to take his trial at the Criminal Court in Edinburgh, on an indictment of high treason, in the beginning of June 1685, soon after the landing of his confederate the Earl of Argyll; and on the 24th of September, two months after his execution, a similar summons addressed to his heirs was, by his Majesty's special warrant, proclaimed from the market-cross of the Scottish capital and the pier and shore of Leith. On the 21st of December the Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, produced in Court the criminal letters duly executed against the said heirs, namely, Anna Duchess of Buccleuch, and Henry and James Scot, the sons of the late Duke, "upon three score days' warning by sound of trumpet, open proclamation with displayed coat, and other solemnities necessary;" and also an act of the Privy Council for pursuing the said heirs thereupon. The proceedings were protracted by repeated adjournments; but at last, on the 15th of February 1686, the assize, or jury, found the deceased Duke guilty of the crime libelled; upon which the Court pronounced sentence, adjudging his name, fame, memory, and honours to be extinct, his blood to be tainted, and his arms to be riven forth and deleted out of the Book of Arms, so that his posterity might never have place, nor be able hereafter to enjoy any lands, lordships, titles, dignities, offices, privileges, goods or gear whatsoever, moveable

* *Scott's Dryden*, IX. 257.

or immoveable, within the realm, and declaring everything that had belonged to him to have become the property of the crown. But already in January of this year a grant had been made to the Duchess of Buccleuch and her heirs of "the great house, or lodge, and park, called Moor Park, in the county of Herts, forfeited to his Majesty by the attainder of James late Duke of Monmouth;* and a few months after this all the property that had belonged to the Duke, both in England and in Scotland, was restored to her. Barillon mentions the circumstance as a piece of news in a dispatch of the 17th of June;† and Lord Clarendon, writing to his brother, Lord Rochester, from Dublin Castle about a week before, says, "I am very glad of the grace the King has showed to the Duchess of Monmouth: I think she will give a very good account of her children."‡

The Scottish Court of Justiciary, Lord Fountainhall tells us, had, before pronouncing the sentence of forfeiture against Monmouth, long deliberated whether they should proceed in the absence of the parties principally concerned, his children, who were understood to be still prisoners in the Tower of London. The Lord Advocate contended that this was of no consequence, and that it would not be safe to set the children at liberty, seeing that faction might get hold of them, and make use of them to get up a new rebellion; but the Court still hesitated, and at one time seemed disposed to have an application made that the children should

* *Haywood*, 417. † *Dalrymple, Appendix*, 168.
‡ *Clarendon Correspondence*, I. 444.

be sent down to the Castle of Edinburgh. This notion, however, was not acted upon; and, in fact, it would appear that the two boys had already been released from custody; a royal warrant for delivering them into the hands of Samuel Hancock, Esq., is stated to have been directed to the Lieutenant of the Tower on the 17th of the preceding November.*

Their little sister had previously been released by a higher mandate. The poor child, her mother's namesake and only remaining daughter, is said never to have held up her head after that parting interview with her father; and she died in the Tower within less than a month. Permission to her mother to dispose of the body was granted on the 12th of August. She was only in her eleventh year.

For some time even the Duchess, with all her firmness, was visibly weighed down by the strange and solemn events through which she had passed. On the 6th of February 1686 she sat in the same pew with Evelyn in the chapel at Whitehall, when, he remarks, she "appeared with a very sad and afflicted countenance." Two years later, however, we find, from the Diary of her friend Lord Clarendon, that she was again mixing freely in society. He records his having visited her on the 24th of February 1688, when she was keeping home upon the account of her mother's death,—the old Countess of Wemyss, gone off the stage at last in her third widowhood. The daughter was probably already contemplating a second matrimony. The next notice of her

* *Bayley*, 633.

that occurs in Clarendon's Diary is under date of Monday the 28th of May, on which day his lordship visited her, she being newly come to town; when "she owned that she had been married three weeks to Lord Cornwallis, and that she went into the country to avoid the clutter usual upon those occasions."

This was Charles third Lord Cornwallis, the same who had married for his first wife the eldest daughter of Sir Stephen Fox.* She had died about six years before. His lordship was the Duchess's junior by some four or five years.

Meanwhile, on the 17th of November 1687, a new charter, or patent, had been granted to the Duchess by King James, conveying the dukedom of Buccleuch and the other Scottish honours that had been forfeited by Monmouth to her, and, after her decease, to her eldest son by him and the heirs male of his body; which charter was, after the Revolution, ratified and confirmed by an Act passed by the Scottish Parliament 15th of June 1693.† Monmouth's attainder in Scotland was repealed by the Rescissory Act passed by the Parliament of that kingdom in 1690.

The second marriage of the great Scottish heiress produced a son and two daughters, who also, like her children by Monmouth, all took their mother's family name; but the eldest daughter, to whom she had given her own baptismal name and that of her whom she had last lost, died in July 1690, and the son, Lord George, was also taken from her about three years after. The

* See *ante, pp.* 183 *and* 186.

† *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, IX. 341.

second daughter, Lady Isabella Scott, was never married, but survived till near the middle of the last century (18 Feb. 1748).

Lord Cornwallis himself was cut off, at the early age of two-and-forty, in April 1698.

The Duchess never married again; and from this time she appears to have resided very much at her family seat of Dalkeith, where her establishment and style of living were the most magnificent of which Scotland could then boast. It has been asserted, indeed, that, as the relict of Monmouth, she now set up for a sort of royal personage, both in her native country and in London. Johnson speaks of her as "remarkable for inflexible perseverance in her demand to be treated as a princess;* and Scott in like manner assures us that throughout her widowhood "she was resolute in asserting her right to be treated as a princess of the blood."† It is hardly to be supposed, however, that her pretensions, whatever they were, can have gone the length of involving the denial of her first husband's illegitimacy, after her more than acquiescence upon that point all the time that he was alive. To be sure, his attainder had relieved her from the bar sinister on her coach-panels, which he had been reluctantly obliged to emblazon, and which all succeeding inheritors of the dukedom of Buccleuch have also, as descended from him, borne in their coat-armour. She, it is presumed, would resume her ancestral shield. However, she certainly did look upon herself as, in virtue of having once been the wife of Monmouth, in some way or other elevated to

* *Lives of the Poets; Gay.* † *Dryden*, IX. 257.

a considerable distance above other persons of the same nominal rank, if we can rely upon all that is related of her. "In her state rooms," we are told by a writer who has gathered and brightened up for us with an affectionate hand many such characteristic memorials dropt from the mantle of Time, "she had a canopy erected, which was the only seat in the apartment, everybody standing besides herself. When Lady Margaret Montgomery, one of the beautiful Countess of Eglintoune's daughters, was at a boarding-school near London—previous to the year *Thirty*—she was frequently invited by the Duchess to her house; and because her great-grandmother, Lady Mary Leslie, was sister to her Grace's mother, she was allowed a chair; but this was an extraordinary mark of grace." "The Duchess," it is added, "was the last person of quality in Scotland who kept *pages*, in the proper acceptation of the term; that is, young gentlemen of good birth, who acquired manners and knowledge of the world in attending upon persons of exalted rank. The last of her Grace's pages rose to be a General. When a letter was brought for the Duchess the domestic gave it to the page—the page to the waiting-gentlewoman (always a person of birth also)—and she at length to her Grace. The Duchess kept a tight hand over her clan and tenants, but was upon the whole beloved."*

The intellectual superiority of the Duchess, not less than her high rank, fitted her to take a leading part all her life in that direct encouragement and reward of wit and literature which was then expected from the

* *Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh* (1847), 299.

great. She was the first patron both of Gay, whom immediately upon the appearance of his *Rural Sports* in 1711 she engaged as her Secretary, and long before of Dryden, who has gratefully commemorated her on various occasions. "The charming Annabel" is the complimentary designation under which she is introduced in the *Absalom and Achitophel.* Ten years later, in the Dedication of his *King Arthur* to the Marquis of Halifax, after stating that the play had been written seven years before, he says;—"Although I can only speak by guess of what pleased my first and best patroness, the Duchess of Monmouth, in the reading, yet I will venture my opinion, by the knowledge I have long had of her Grace's excellent judgment and true taste of poetry, that the parts of the airy and earthy spirits, and that fairy kind of writing which depends only upon the force of imagination, were the grounds of her liking the poem, and afterwards of her recommending it to the Queen" (that is, to Queen Mary). But Dryden's most elaborate tribute to the Duchess is in the Dedication of his *Indian Emperor* to herself in 1667. He here tells her Grace that by all knowing persons she is esteemed a principal ornament of the Court; "but," he proceeds, "though the rank which you hold in the royal family might direct the eyes of a poet to you, yet your beauty and goodness detain and fix us." Then, after much more commendation both of her mind and of her person, he breaks out into a rapture about her and her husband being in their appearance "a pair of angels sent below to make virtue amiable, or to sit to poets when they would pleasantly instruct

the age by drawing goodness in the most perfect and alluring shape of nature." "It is," he goes on, "so much your inclination to do good, that you stay not to be asked; which is an approach so nigh the Deity, that human nature is not capable of a nearer." To the truth of all this it is his happiness that he can bear testimony from his own experience;—of which he presents the poem as an acknowledgment.

Monmouth's widow survived till the 6th of February 1732, by which time she had entered her eighty-first year. She had outlived all her nine children, except only, as already mentioned, her youngest daughter by Lord Cornwallis. Her eldest son, James, styled Earl of Dalkeith, died, at the age of thirty, in 1705, leaving a son, Francis; her youngest, Henry,—who was in 1706 made a Scottish peer by the title of Earl of Delorain, a dignity which expired with his descendant, the fourth Earl, in 1807,—in 1730, at the age of fifty-four. She was succeeded in the Dukedom by her grandson Francis, who was also in 1743 restored to his grandfather's English titles of Earl of Doncaster and Baron of Tynedale; and he again was succeeded by his grandson, who on the death of the fourth Duke of Queensbury, in 1810, likewise succeeded to that title, and to those of Marquis of Dumfriesshire, Earl of Drumlanrig, Viscount Nith, Baron Douglas, and others, all conferred in 1684, which went along with it. He was the father of the last, and the grandfather of the present, Duke.*

* Some doubts and difficulties have been started about the descent of the Dukedom of Buccleuch. Sir Egerton Brydges, in the third volume

of his edition of *Collins's Peerage* (pp. 802, 803) prints a communication from T. B. Howell, Esq., the Editor of the *State Trials*, in which that gentleman, while admitting the effect of the Rescissory Act of 1690 in restoring the Dukedom, says :—"But still a difficulty remains ; for it seems agreed that no male descendant of Monmouth assumed the title of Buccleuch until the death of the Duchess in 1732, from which fact we must infer that the title was vested in her, which it certainly could not have been by virtue of the patent of April 20th, 1663." And he subjoins the following solution suggested in a letter from Mr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Scott :—"I should not be surprised to find that Duchess Anne, who was a woman of very high spirit, had arranged her son's assumption of the title at her own hand [that is, by her own authority], and in her own way, which, as she was indisputable possessor of the whole fortune, her son could have no interest to dispute." The difficulty is explained by the new grant of the title in 1687,—a grant of which both the English and the Scottish Peerage-writers appear to be ignorant. It is no doubt this second grant which has given rise to the common and certainly erroneous statement that the Dukedom was originally conferred in 1663 both upon Monmouth and upon his wife.

END OF VOL. IV.

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